

SCHOOL OF MISSION AND THEOLOGY

**THE ROLE OF RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN GLASGOW IN RUSSIAN
SPEAKING IMMIGRANT LIVES**

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Introduction

The problem of migration and integration of new countrymen is one of the most discussed topics today, along with international terrorism and climate change. How far can authorities go in controlling immigrant lives, so not to harm them and to provide the best for the country and local society? Should their new homeland encourage them to preserve their native language, traditions and religion, or is it better to help them assimilating, so they don't feel confused having different, sometimes bipolar cultures and identities. At the same time no one could deny that religious affiliation, traditions and space play an enormous role in immigrant integration, their moral and emotional well-being and successful adaptation. Scripture says about the treatment of the vulnerable and the need to welcome strangers and foreigners without suspicion. It is an essential part of the Church's mission and ministry to reach out to the marginalised and persecuted, and to stand in solidarity with them in their struggles, suffering and hopes.

While for some ethnic groups religion plays stronger spiritual role, which gives them explanation about the meaning of their life, setting them moral codes for the right behaviour and explaining what is waiting for them after earthly life, for other groups religion has more ethnic character, it's more a nation's unification and culture preservation factor. Immigrants face a choice: either they maintain their cultural allegiance to their home country, or they adapt to that of their new country (Foley, Hoge (2007:30). Researches show that assimilation is inevitable outcome of the immigrant experience, and assimilation is thought to be complete when immigrants or their descendants replaced the historical, cultural, and linguistic traditions and memories of their homeland with those of their new country.

Religious identity is an exception

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Research problem

The research focuses on different roles Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow is playing in lives of Russian speaking immigrants. My background as an orthodox, Russian, national minority and immigrant, was crucial in deciding the research object. This study attempts to cover the lacking field of researches on immigrants churches in Glasgow. Most relevant researches of the role of churches in home countries are looking on the role of the church as providing spiritual and moral help, also the place where one can mark important phases of life circle- the birth, death, baptising. At the same time, other roles of churches are being undiscovered.

Different sides of church provided services are being researched and explained, so to create the general picture of an immigrant church and understand what is it's role in the process of immigrant successful integration and their well- being. The overview of the UK mass media and communication with immigrants has shown that there are many stereotypes about the immigrants, like, for example, Eastern Europeans being: lower social class, criminals and benefits misuser. Research seeks to cover the problem of immigrant integration, stereotypes and feeling of exclusion. Exploring immigrant churches and their different roles might lead to better understanding of alien cultures, different way of thinking and different aspects of integration process, making it more fast and successful.

The practical part of this research is an analysis of primary qualitative data received during semi- structured interviews and the observation of parish members of the Russian orthodox church in Glasgow. As a secondary data a wide range of academic articles about the immigrant churches in different countries has been consulted and from which relevant items have been taken.

Research question.

The major concern of his study is to investigate the role or the Russian immigrant church in Glasgow in Russian speaking immigrants lives and their integration process. In order to succeed it, life stories and experiences of Russian speaking immigrants are being investigated. This study addresses following question: Which role the Russian orthodox parish in Glasgow

is playing in Russian speaking immigrant lives (especially during integration process)?

According to research made by Hirschman (2004), religion offers immigrants three critical benefits: "refuge, resources, and respect". So, in the context of immigration, spiritual capital has been posited to yield tangible benefits in the form of assistance as well as intangible benefits in the form of faith and forbearance. Based on this approach, the role of the church in this research is divided into two main categories: social/ practical role and the spiritual/moral help, which are further divided into more narrow areas (upbringing of children, relationship with other minorities, host society and others). According to this division I drew two main sub-questions, which will be paid central attention in the research.

Question 1: Does *and how the Russian orthodox church in Glasgow is influencing Russian speaking immigrant mental well-being and emotional state?*

Question 2 Does *and how the Russian orthodox church in Glasgow facilitates Russian speaking immigrant social and economic integration?*

Other questions I referred to during the research are: How do religious institutions serve newcomers to the UK? What do they do for immigrants and their offspring, and how do they help shape their experience of life in the UK? Do they promote their incorporation into UK life and civic space? And how do they shape the ethnic and religious identities of immigrants?

There are several ways to divide the role of the church in immigrant lives. For example, in many researches: fellowship, ethnic identity and common cultural values are being discussed under one category of social function of the church. I decided to divide different roles of the church into two main categories: Social/practical and mental/spiritual role. While the first is stressing more "tangible" factors, which can be observed and evaluated, the second section tells more about immigrant moral state, their feelings and emotions.

Aim of the research

The purpose of this project is to show the different aspects of immigrant churches activities and their influence on immigrant life, and with that, to discover whether the lack of researches on immigrant religious spaces in the UK generally and in Scotland/Glasgow

particular, can be a factor which is slowing down the process of immigrant social, economic integration, the building of inter-religious/inter-cultural dialogue and relationships between different immigrant groups and between the local society and immigrants. The investigation of Russian speaking immigrants attending Russian orthodox church in Glasgow and their opinions about the role of the church in their lives, as immigrants, will seek to show, whether and how much their immigrants status has impact on their decision to come to the church and to reveal the other, rather than just spiritual role of immigrant churches. It also seeks to understand how the church can help in researching and understanding the multi- faceted process of immigration.

There are many researches of immigrant churches in the USA and mainly the Catholic immigrant churches are being researched, but there is a gap in the research of orthodox immigrant churches and immigrant churches in the UK generally. The results of this investigation should be relevant for the Russian community in Glasgow, as well as for local authorities and society in Glasgow generally, as a tool for better understanding of immigrants, their culture, their aspirations and wishes, their problems and interests.

I have stayed in Glasgow for about a year, taking part in activities within the Russian orthodox church parish there. Social interactions with members of the parish and observations of their everyday lives as well as the lack of researches of minority churches and the role of religion in immigrant lives in the UK generally and Glasgow particularly, were crucial for deciding on the topic of this work.

1.2. Definition of Key Terms:

In my thesis I will use different concepts and terms. I will give a short description to some of them.

In this thesis the research subjects are Russian speaking immigrants who are attending the Russian Orthodox church in Glasgow services or participate in it's organized activities. *Immigrant* can be defined as a person who moves to another country, usually for permanent residence ((<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/immigrant>)). Upon arriving immigrants go through the period of adaptation. We speak about *assimilation* as a process of adapting or adjusting to the culture of a group or nation, or the state of being so adapted ((<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/assimilation>)). Another terms one which describes

adaptation process is *integration*. The moment immigrants settle in a country, they have to acquire a place in that new society. This is relevant not only for physical needs such as housing, but also in social and cultural sense. Integration is the process by which immigrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups. (<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/integration-role-communities-institutions-and-state>).

The main difference between concepts assimilation and integration is that, while assimilation is requiring immigrants to adopt the majority's language, customs and 'values', integration stresses the importance of accepting country's laws, basic democratic rights, but doesn't require extermination of all cultural differences and group identities. What is the role of the church in integration process? While researching the immigrant adaptation in a new country, we often use the term culture- "preserving the culture", " become acquainted with a new culture". *Culture* can be seen as "stability and rigidity in the sense that how we are supposed to perceive, feel and act in a given society, organization, or occupation has been taught to us by our various socialization experiences and becomes prescribed as a way to maintain the "social order" (Schein E. 2006:10). Although, the culture is constantly changing and easily lost. The research seeks to find out, *what is the role of immigrant church in culture preservation and cultural adaptation?* Culture is strongly bound with the term *identity*. Identity can be seen as an individual or a group desire to be *different*. So, in a way, it can serve as a protection mechanism in a new, unsure, unsafe environment. It defines what and where the person or the group is in both social and psychological terms. Key questions of this concept are: "Who am I?" "Who are we?" (Guibernau M., 2007:10). The research seeks to discover whether the *immigrant church* influences immigrant *identity*? Another terms worth to mention are ethnic group and national minority. Both terms can mean the group identity, both as identity with those sharing common culture and language and as an identity with the base of contrast to local ethnic, religious, linguistic majority. Ethnic *group* can be defined as a social group that shares a common and distinctive culture, religion, language, or the like (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/ethnicity>). *Despite the fact that these research subjects are coming from different countries (Latvia, Russia, Ukraine), they are a part of one ethnic group- Russians. The term national minority*, on another hand, usually refers to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, pursuant to the United Nations Minorities Declaration. All States have one or more minority groups within their national territories, characterized by their own national, ethnic, linguistic or religious identity, which

differs from that of the majority population. (<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Minorities/Pages/internationallaw.aspx>). As it was mentioned above, some respondents are coming from post-countries, where Russians constitute ethnic minority. Becoming immigrants, they are gaining new status of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. What is the role of the church in process of their adaptation to their new status?

1.3 Research design

1.3.a Data Collection

Qualitative research/Primary data

Qualitative approach is most useful and appropriate method for exploring the social issue "from inside", to get most objective and full data. Qualitative method opens a gate into people's behaviours, concerns, systems, culture, lifestyles etc. This method focuses on generating detailed information on subjects which are too complex, contexted and multidimensional to be quantified. The data is being gained by such activities as interviews, observations, questionnaires and others. Face to face interviews is the best method for understanding how people think and act in their everyday lives and in certain situations, and how do they interpret their experiences.

As this research seeks to discover the experiences of Russian speaking immigrants, which is a social phenomenon, I found the qualitative method as most appropriate to be used. As main methods for gaining primary data, I will use semi-structured (unstructured) interviews and observation. Pilkington and Omelchenko pointed out that *interviews help to build up a true picture of peoples' lives 'reflecting social and cultural complexity' and 'the closeness of the researcher allows the generation of trust, care and concern.'* Unlike structured interviews, semi-structured interviews are more flexible and allow to build more friendly atmosphere and for the interviewees, to open more, to express their views in their own ways. Semi-structured interviews were conducted by asking open-ended questions listed below in the *interview procedure* chapter.

At the same time, as there could be concerns about ‘lack of anonymity and exaggerated “desired response”’, (Pilkington, H; Omelchenko, E. 1997) as well there still being doubts that post- Soviet people are easily affected and not able to speak openly about issues, but rather to say what a researcher wants to hear. These remarks were taken into consideration during interviews.

Observation

During the interviews, I, as a researcher, have tried to focus not only on information she was getting from the participants, but was paying special attention to their behaviour and emotions, with the aim to supplement and better understand primary data from interviews. I have tried to create a friendly and calm atmosphere in order to assure that people will be supportive and willing to provide necessary data for the research. At the same time, I tried to follow the ethical requirement on informed consent, so that participants don't feel obliged to participate.

Qualitative research/Secondary data

Qualitative Secondary data can be obtained from various sources that include newspaper, novels, reports, televisions, relevant policy documents and many others.

I visited libraries in Norway and Glasgow in order to find relevant books, articles and researches. The fact that during the fieldwork, my sister was a student at Glasgow University, made it possible to visit libraries in all universities in Glasgow, as well as use their online resources.

The starting point of this research is an investigation of data about the recent church role in Russia and the UK, the connection between immigration process and religion. Further the recent immigration of Russian speaking immigrants to the UK is being investigated. In order to understand why people are attending the Russian orthodox church in Glasgow and what they expect to gain from it, different aspects of its influence on the parish member lives are being discussed.

A wide range of academic articles about the immigrant churches in different countries has been consulted and from which relevant items have been taken. Much useful material was

also extracted from the Moscow Patriarchate and Russian orthodox church in Glasgow web sites. Most secondary data is derived from analyses made by scholars on the role of the church in immigrant lives in the USA (the most literature is about the immigrant live in America, and as there are many immigrants who come from the countries where religion plays very important role, so it's easier to follow how the role of the church is changing upon the immigrant arrival and life in the USA). This information was used to test and back up secondary qualitative data and to make a comparative analysis of primary qualitative data received through the interviews. Secondary quantitative data and the method of discourse helped to identify areas to explore during the qualitative data collection and provide starting points for the interviews.

Patterns of immigration to the US and the UK.

Due to the lack of researches of immigrant religious space in the UK generally and in Scotland (Glasgow) in particularly, and in order to justify the use of researches of immigrant churches in the USA in this research, the short overview of immigration patterns to the US and the UK will be given.

According to different studies on immigration to the USA and Western Europe are showing that the US and the UK are more similar to one another concerning immigration patterns than to other Western European countries. Although there is one big difference- the UK membership in the EU, which lead to recent immigration from Eastern Europe and the higher numbers of Muslim immigrants, there are more similarities. To name some of them: a. both countries have similar (civic) citizenship regimes; b. similar welfare states and social benefit system; c. flexible education systems; d. some overlaps in the national origins of immigrants (for example, large numbers of Chinese and Indians). These similarities, along with the fact that the US has a much longer and more prominent role of migration in it's history, as opposed to British history, makes the researches of immigrants religious spaces and the role of religion in immigrant lives, applicable for the research of immigrant churches in the UK.

1.3.b Selecting participants

According to Creswell (2007) the researchers should use various types of sampling

strategies in order to obtain qualified candidates, also stressing the importance of acquiring participants who will be willing to openly and honestly share information and their story. It's also easier to conduct interviews with participants in a comfortable environment where they do not feel restricted or uncomfortable to share information. The common language, cultural background, social status and significant time spent within the Russian community, are factors which might help to establish close contact with respondents, common trust and trustful relationships during interviews. Although for many religious topic might be a private domain and they might feel uncomfortable to talk about every religious topics.

Respondents were identified through connections within the Russian church in Glasgow. All respondents spent significant time in the Soviet Union and post- Soviet Russia before migration to Britain. They come from different countries where Russian population is significant: Russia, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine. They have been residing in Glasgow for different period of time: some are living for more than 5 years, while others have arrived just a year ago; some came with their families, others came alone, living their families behind, some are single. The basic information about their social status, background, age, their connections with the church etc. can be found in Annex (Table 1).

For this research I selected informants from different social classes, both gender and different age groups. Throughout the research of Russian church parish members, attention was paid to different factors such as: the period the person is living in Glasgow, the age, economic status and others, in order to get more complete picture of Russian community in Glasgow.

1.3 .c My role as a researcher

My role as a researcher could be viewed from two perspectives- as a sister of Rumanian orthodox priest's wife and as a student and fellow denomination member. In all orthodox denominations priests and their family members are highly respected. As the orthodox community in Glasgow is quite small, priests from different orthodox denominations and their families are well known to most church goers. Being aware that some potential respondents might be influenced by the fact that the researcher is a priest wife's sister and feel obliged to participate, I was stressing my role as a student and fellow denomination member, trying to avoid talks about my sister and her Priest- husband.

1.3.d Analysis of material

All the data collected during interviews had been written down to notebook. I found it more appropriate for creation of more friendly atmosphere during interviews to use notebook instead of electronic devices. These notes are going to be the base for answering the research question. The main aim of interviews were to hear personal life stories upon their arrival to Glasgow. Some respondents had spend certain time in other UK cities or other countries (as refugees), before settling in Glasgow. Their stories of economic, social, mental integration in Glasgow would help to understand the role of Russian orthodox church in this process. I have gone through the material gathered during interviews and highlighted main issues which could be used to show the different mission of the church in immigrant integration process.

After collecting the data, it was coded into two main categories: social/ practical help and spiritual/ mental help the church provided to them. Information about participants, on another hand, was coded into various categories, like: gender, the time spent in Glasgow, age, family status, country of origin and others. Such coding and comparison of different categories helped to reveal how, for example, the gender can influence the process of integration, patterns of religious participation and the level of activity in the church.

1.3 e Work in the field

As it was mentioned above, semi structured interviews served as the main method for gathering primary data. Before the interviews, author had selected the main points to be raised during conversations, with possible answers in case respondents had problems with identifying an approach to the question. Almost all interviews expanded into deeper discussions and monologues on the issue and beyond, but and the researches haven't stopped the conversation, simply allowing the respondents to express themselves fully and feel relaxed about their replies. It made every interview unique and broadened the researched question. There were interviewees who showed greater interest in speaking about the topic rather than simply answering the questions, mostly these were those who got the practical help from the church members and wanted to share their feelings and gratefulness.

Interviews were carried out at the respondent's or interviewer's home in an informal situation where everybody fell relaxed. The process of the interview was more like a friends

gathering for a cup of tea rather than a researcher and respondent. Finding time for some interviews was eased by situation that some participants are attending the weekly quire my sister's flat, which is organized by Rumanian orthodox church in Glasgow. So, instead of finding special day, using extra time for coming, some interviews were organized after these singing sessions.

Each interview began with an explanation of the aim of the research, ethical considerations and an explanation of the interest of the researcher for the role of the church in immigrant lives.

O'Reilly: "*Understanding that for the successful ethnographic research, the author participation in the lives of the people being studied*" (O.Reilly K. 2005) is important, considerable time was spent with respondents in an informal atmosphere (trips to the country, sharing meals, taking part in different events arranged by the Russian community) which made a substantial contribution to the research, as people were speaking about things which they wouldn't admit during interview, were sharing their worries and problems as with the equal, while during the interview it was more- researcher- respondent relationship. It provided an opportunity to observe the immigrants in their daily life which helped to get a correct view of the situation and see how theoretical assumptions fit with the reality.

1.3.f Researches in the field

The process of migration is widely discussed by different researchers and from many perspectives. There are many discussions about the problems of migration and possible economic, social and political ways of resolving them, while the role of the church is either not mentioned or underestimated (Levitt P. 2002: 1-2). Immigration studies have tended to concentrate on the ever-increasing diversity that the new immigrants have brought to American soil, addressing issues related to these immigrant participation in the labour force, the socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrants, the effects of legality and immigration policy on the immigrant lives, family and gender relations, and social networks among these immigrants (Menjívar C. 2000: 6). At the same time, little or no attention has been paid to the role of the churches and religious groups in the life of immigrants, although throughout the world, religious groups constitute some of the most important forms of social organization and sources of world-views. In order to solve migration caused problems among

broad range of interdisciplinary researches in economics, politics, geography, demography, sociology, psychology, law, more attention should be paid to the theological aspect.

Migration process, its influence on the receiving and host countries, its economic and justice aspects, is widely discussed both in mass media and academic researches, while the theological, the religious aspect of this process, is often being neglected. Researches of immigrant religious institutions and practices usually show their influence on assimilation/integration of immigrants into local society, also church given opportunity to maintain ties with the home country, are being discussed (Kerwin D., Gerschutz J.M., 2009:137). As important is also counted church contribution to immigrant socio-economic stability and, in some cases, political integration when religious actors serve as lobbies for immigrants in local political arena.

Most researches, touching the immigration question, study immigrants from non EU countries, mostly non-Christian minorities, while little attention is being paid to the migration inside Europe between Christian countries. Migration from A8 states is quite recent and intensive, so more researches are needed on these new migrants for local people to understand them and to know what to expect from millions of migrants from Eastern Europe, building their attitude towards them based not on prejudices, but on facts.

From the report on the recent migration to Scotland, one can clearly see that there is sensitive lack in both the number and characteristic of recent migrants, which often contribute in misunderstanding and mistrust towards migrant among local people. More precise research of Russian minority church in Glasgow can also contribute to the making the image of the immigrants more clear, understandable and positive.

1.3 g Validity and Reliability

Qualitative research has to be based on reliability and validity principles, which make it meaningful and valuable. Reliability and Validity are two basic properties of empirical measurements. Reliability shows us to what extent an experiment or test will provide the same result on repeated trials. In other words, reliability is an assurance that the research is founded enough to be trusted. Although, one should keep in mind the certain amount of chance error which is persistent in any phenomenon. Validity, on another hand, is showing us how truthful the research results are or how well one succeed in answering the research

questions. That's why it's important that the data which was presented is interpreted in such a way that reflect and represent the real world. While using qualitative method in this research, the researcher was aware of these requirements, like, for example, the authenticity of secondary data resources, being honest in providing data, as well as there were no bias or imposed ideas from the researcher's side.

1.3 h Ethics

To say it in a simple way, ethics means "doing what is right, treating people fairly, not hurting anyone". Research can be a tool for providing vital information, can help to describe some social actions and decisions and as a result discover most appropriate ways of action in certain situations. It can open a gate to closed groups, alien way of thinking, and if done unethically, can make a hard damage to the society and individuals. Therefore, it's vital for the researcher to be aware of consequences his actions can bring. The main principles of ethical conduct during research are:

- do not harm- participants of the research should be assured that participation will not harm them
- Privacy and anonymity- participants should be assured that privacy will be guaranteed. This means that no identifying information about the individual should be revealed. In order to succeed in this, all surnames of the interviewees had been changed in this research, as well as no information had been transferred to internet.
- Confidentiality- participants should be assured that information they provide will be treated in a confidential manner, which means that it will not be transferred to someone else, rather than researcher and research supervisor.
- Informed consent- individuals participating in the research have a reasonable expectation that they will be informed of the nature of the study and may choose whether or not to participate. So, it would be unethical to gather information during private conversation and without warning the person of ongoing research, use this information in the research. Also, the person shouldn't feel obliged to participate.
- Intrusiveness- it's important to plan data collection process in a way it doesn't intrude on respondents time, space and personal life. For example, the choice

of location is very important

- Data interpretation- Researcher has to assure that the data is analysed in a manner that avoids misinterpretations and misstatements.
- Other issues. One of the issues the researcher was aware of during the interviews, was political topics, like expressing her political views and making judgements. Being aware of that some respondents come from Ukraine and Latvia where people might have different and confronting political ideas, the author tried to avoid political topics.

The ‘ethical’ considerations were fully explained to potential respondents- that the information received during the interviews would be anonymous and that their real names or any other distinguishing characteristics would not be used. They were also assured that the information would be kept secure.

CHAPTER 2

Literature review

2.1 *Church today*

The role of the church in many European countries is rapidly diminishing. At the same time new, different forms of religiosity and spirituality appear. People believe in higher forces, spirits they see on TV and internet. All over the Western Europe the number of church goers is rapidly diminishing, while it's rising as the new light in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Ammerman (2007)). So, in the UK, the number of church goers is one of the lowest among the EU states. Latest data confirm the continual decline of institutional Christianity and the emergence of a mixed belief society in which belief is mutating creating the new era of plural, post-Christianity. Paradoxically at the same time one can witness *the growing number of immigrant churches and congregations* (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/03/church-attendance-propped-immigrants-study>)

In Russia the situation with the church is different from that in Western Europe

generally and in the UK particularly. In today's Russia, the Orthodox Church plays an important role in state's life. Long period of atheism and persecution of the church, made the church blossoming and very popular in modern times. During soviet times, the Communist party had replaced religion and God. It was caring for people and from it one was getting moral, spiritual and material support. It was also caring responsibility for people souls. As a result, many churches have been destroyed and the orthodox culture partly lost. After the collapse of the communist regime with the time orthodoxy became an essential part of Russian culture and national identity. Although, there are not many people who are attending the church services regularly and in the churches one can usually see older people, the status of the church and attitude towards the religion and religious people have changed (<http://www.podvorie-sokolniki.ru>).

During the big feasts the churches are full with young people and children, old Slavic church names are being given to new born and there is growing number of religious and non-religious parents to baptise their new born regardless their religiosity. Russian Orthodox Church is also getting strong support from state's political authorities. It's usual that during online translations of the big religious feasts in Moscow cathedral, certain time is being spent showing the president, prime minister and other high rang politicians praying. President is inviting bishops to discuss social problems; the church is being used as arena for political battles; instead of going to resorts, celebrities are visiting monasteries and consulting monks in different life situations. As the example one can mention the rush, caused by bringing from Greece to Russia the band of the Virgin Mary. It happened in autumn 2011 and more than 3 million pilgrims have come to see and touch it (<http://www.pravoslavie.ru/49475.html>). Interviewed pilgrims have admitted that there is no one to trust or ask for the help except for Saints and God; that in order to live a decent life, one need to believe in miracle, which politicians and economists can't provide; many also admitted that the main target for this action was to unite Russian nation, to show that orthodoxy is one of few life spheres which can gather so many people in one place on a basis of common belief and hope (<http://www.pravoslavie.ru/49475.html>).

Data on religious affiliation in Russia (2007)

What is your attitude towards the religion? (%)	
Believer, attending the church regularly, following church rituals and ceremonies (for example, fasting)	10
Believer, but going to the church only during big feasts, not following rituals and ceremonies	43
Believe in existence of God, but are not religious	31
Atheist. Sure that there is no God	6
Haven't thought about such topics	8
Can't answer	2

Do you consider yourself religion? Which church do you belong? (% from those who believe in God)	
Orthodox	75
Catholic	1
Protestant	2
Muslim	8
Judaism	0
Buddhist	0
Other religion	0
I believe in God, but don't belong to any church	8
Can't answer	6

From this data we see that more than 80 % of Russian population believe in existence of God or, as someone calls it, in 'higher forces'. At the same time, only 10% are active church goers. Let us call an active goer the person who is attending the church service

at least once a week (ideally it would be two times a week- Saturday evening service and Sunday morning service). Although, most people believe in God, but find it either not necessary or time consuming, to go to the church service weekly. It's an old tradition for many Russian families to go the church during biggest feasts, like Easter and Christmas. During such holidays, mass media show celebrities and politicians visiting services in churches and cathedrals. *This data confirms the assumption that for some national groups the church can play much wider and diverse role than just spiritual nourishment.* For most Russians who are living in Russia the church is an institution where the nation can gather during big celebrations, commemorate important historical events and feel their strength as a united nation. Along with these functions of the church, many others are arising, when a church under research is an immigrant church.

To summarize, one can say that modern Russian culture is tightly connected with orthodox values and traditions and the church strongly penetrates and influences all spheres of public and private life. Along with other factors, the plural society and their immigrant status in it is threatening their national identity, which makes them more aware of their history, roots, nationality, religion and cultural values. Many Russian immigrants admit that after coming to new capitalistic and atheistic environment it's difficult for them to integrate into such society, as they need something to believe in, to be devoted to, to follow, let it be Orthodox Church or communistic teachings. When immigrating to another countries, those for whom the church and religion are important components of daily life, are in a way "taking the church with them".

(<http://www.kp.ru/daily/25868/2833958/>).

2.2. Church and immigration

The question of migration is being widely discussed in research literature and mass media by politicians, economists and human rights activists, especially now, when people are migrating much more than ever before. One of every 35 people in the world is living away from his homeland and this number is uncontrollably growing every day. (Groody, 2009: 639). Not paying enough attention to the research of immigration process, can lead to economic, political crises and even military conflicts, while learning about

immigrant culture, religion, home countries, can be one of factors for stability and peace both in sending and receiving countries.

As migration strongly affects not only migrants, but also receiving communities, as well as economic, political, demographical and cultural development of receiving and sending countries, it makes this process very contentious political, economic and social issue and one of the most complex issues in the world.

People leave their homelands by many reasons and upon arriving to the new country, they are being attached different labels: *illegal*; *aliens*, *strangers*, *asylum seekers*, *displaced persons*, *economic migrants*, *refugees*, and *temporary migrants* (Kerwin D., Gerschutz J.M., 2009:3). So, one of the main problems of migration is the gap between those who are labelled and those who label, between political and social identities of migrants and their human and spiritual identities. Some are forced to move because of violence, persecution or natural disasters; others choose to emigrate in search for work, social security and better life quality. (Kerwin D., Gerschutz J.M., 2009:5).

Church plays an important role in immigration process. Perhaps, the reason why the church pays such a big attention to the migration question, is the spiritual origin of the migration process. As the brightest example one can mention God's call to Abraham, to abandon his homeland and migrate (Kerwin D., Gerschutz J.M., 2009:13.) The church teaches to be tolerant and good citizens. It acknowledges the cultural diversity of newcomers, reminds us of the human being in the heart of immigration phenomenon and calls to respond to migrants with hospitality. So, influencing both host society and "guests", it teaches locals to be tolerant and hospitable, while calling new arrivals to become loyal members of new society and obey its rules. However, often migrants are being blamed for economic instability, cultural polarization of country into "we" and "they", and crimes.

At the same time, most judgements about migrants are being made mostly based on feelings and propaganda, without researching the life, problems and culture of immigrants. One can find few researches about immigrant churches and their influence on immigrant integration process and other factors of immigrant's life. Church makes people look on migration differently. While law, labour economics, sociology are important lenses for viewing immigration, the Christian church looks on migration through the much richer prism of global history, spirituality, social teaching and theology. Often used classification of migrants into such groups as: economic, illegal, temporary, is not supported by the Church.

It's an institution where people can for a time forget about their economic situation, social status, and become the equal members of the human family (Kerwin D., Gerschutz J.M., 2009: 95). *Looking at the process of migration, we should pay special attention to the church and religious question, because migration process itself has spiritual origin. It acknowledges the cultural diversity of the newcomers and calls to respond to migrants with hospitality.*

Globalization process with its innovations in transportation and communication technologies no doubt, gave immigrants new opportunities to keep in touch with their relatives and friends home, diminishing the role of immigrant churches in this process. Although, the church still remains main bond between sending and receiving countries, especially for older generation.

There are different views on relationship between migration and faith/ the change of religious behaviour. On the one hand, some researchers argue that migration has more disruptive effect and leads to reduced participation after a move. Another group of researchers states that a need of people in a mobile, heterogeneous society to link themselves with others of their own kind" makes religion and the church more inviting for immigrants. The third main idea about the relationship between migration and religious participation, states that, that immigrant status is just one of many factors affecting religious participation, including age, gender, marital and family status, and employment (Foley, Hoge (2007:60). Among immigrants, religious participation is also likely to be affected by conditions at the place of destination, including the share of co-religionists, the proportion foreign born, and the diversity of local religious beliefs (Connor 2009a).

In the case of immigration to the UK, researches show that despite the importance of immigrant churches in immigrant lives and adaptation process, there is a lack of information about them. Although significant number of UK immigrants are Christian, they are expressing their Christianity in languages, customs and independent churches, that are sometimes controversial to Western European Catholics and Protestants (Fuchs Ebaugh H. R., Saltzman Chafetz J., 2000: 4). While data shows a lot of basic information about new immigrants, such as their country of origin, patterns of settlement in the UK's economy, costs and benefits of immigrant labour, we know relatively little about their religion. And this is despite the fact that religion is often being the centre of immigrant's sense of identity, and religious institutions serving as centres for ethnic gatherings, celebrations and re-creations of ethnic language and customs, as well as offering assistance with the practical issues of

finding job, housing, schooling, and immigration papers. (Fuchs Ebaugh H. R., Saltzman Chafetz J., 2000: 4). Immigrants are also less likely to be members of formal associations, perform community service, be politically involved apart from voting, or participate in other ways in community affairs—with the important exception of school affairs. The one organization in civil society to which immigrants tend to belong with greater frequency than the larger population is the local worship community. The lack of information can partly be explained by sensitivity of the topic- it's often not allowed or not comfortable to ask immigrants about their religious feelings and experiences

To name main possible functions of the immigrant church: - Providing social capital. *As institutions designed to serve some of the most profound human needs*, worship communities often play an important role in the lives of immigrants, who face all the anxieties of life in a new and foreign culture; - *As institutions that express deeply held cultural convictions and ways of doing things*, local worship communities are central to many immigrants' efforts to maintain and adapt their culture to the new situation; - Civic engagement. *As organizations embedded in UK civil society*, worship communities provide special avenues for incorporating newcomers into Scottish life; - *As communities in many cases created by and for immigrants*, they reflect particularly well the multiple ways that recent immigrants and their children struggle with adaptation to Scottish society((Foley, Hoge (2007:95).

2.3 Immigration to the UK

As EU citizens enjoy free movement within the European Union, UK government cannot limit their immigration under the EU law, that's why it's difficult to follow exact number, location and occupation of these immigrants. The A8 (those who joined EU in 2004) countries have a per capita income well below EU levels and UK was one of few countries, who didn't restrict labour market access to migrants from the A8 countries. In the UK, A8 citizens were able to freely and legally take up employment since May 2004 as long as they registered with the Worker Registration Scheme. (<http://www.hmrc.gov.uk/manuals/ccmmanual/ccm20110.htm>). Such legislation and opening of borders, led to increasing immigration of Russian speaking immigrants from post- Soviet countries to the UK generally and Scotland particularly, who joined numerous Russian

Diaspora in the UK.

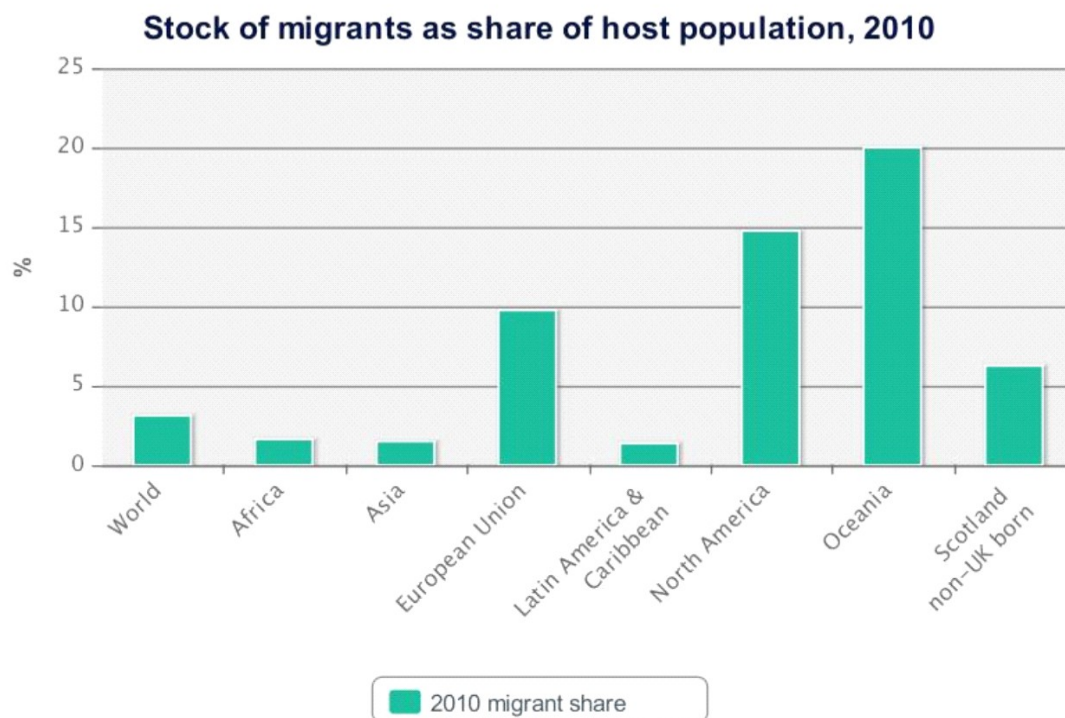
Why do people from post-soviet countries immigrate to the UK?

- Secure and favourable social climate. Respondents find similarities between Scottish and Soviet social politics in terms of free medical care and employment. If in the Soviet Union everybody was provided with a job, then in the UK if you cannot find employment, you are getting benefits sufficient to survive. There are places where you can get discount food and clothes, as well as find good furniture and equipment. In the home countries, they didn't feel secure, they were afraid of losing job, of not being able to pay bills on time, of not getting place for their children in kindergarten, while from the UK, as developed Western state, they expecting economic security and stability (<http://notatree.info/uk/>).
- Those who had good life quality in home countries, mention that, they decided to emigrate, because Western countries provide better future for them and their children.
- The housing situation. In the Soviet Union/Russia there was not enough living space and two generations were often forced to live in a one-two bedroom apartment or several families lived in communal flats with shared bathroom and kitchen. The Glasgow Housing Association provides people with a cheap 'council flat' complying with standards and enough space for everyone.
- Height unemployment levels in home countries and the health system could also be mentioned as one of the basic factors causing migration.

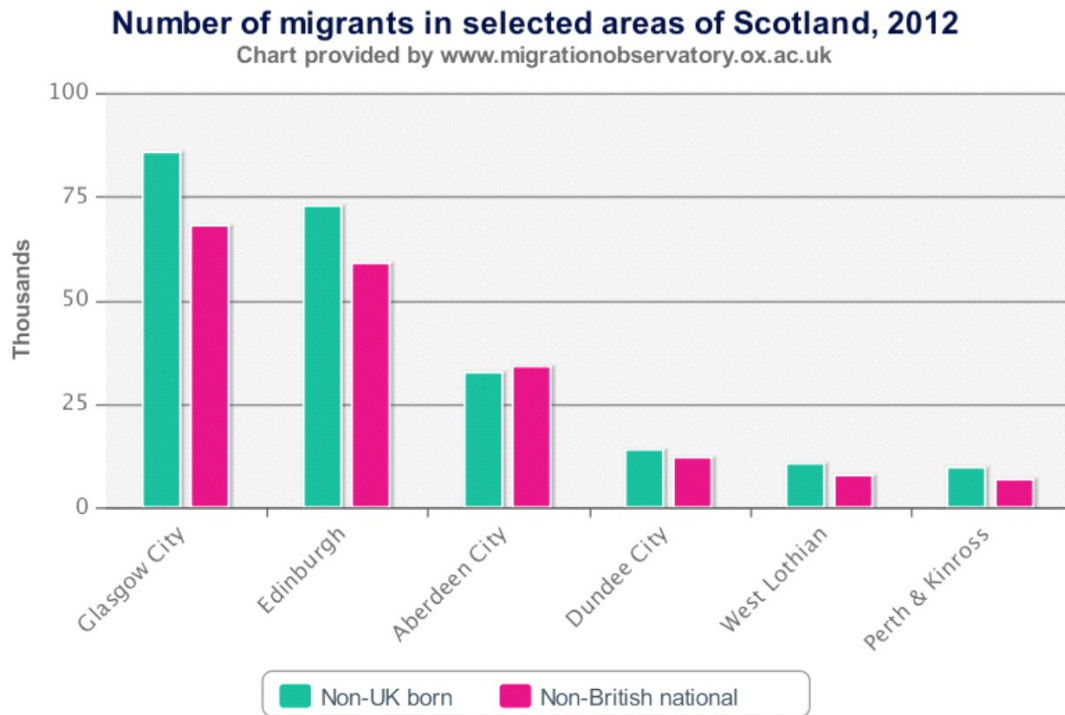
According to the research made by Scottish government, as main "*good things about living in Scotland*" were mentioned:

- Hills and mountains, wildlife, parks, swimming pools, museums, funfair, cinemas, riding bikes in the street, and shops.
- free medicine for kids
- Council flats
- Scotland is a welcoming country
(<http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2007/10/31125406/7>)

If we look on those reasons, forcing Russian speaking immigrants to leave their home countries, one can notice that they have mainly economic basis. People are mostly searching for better life quality, better education for their children and safer future for themselves. Being pushed from their home countries by the factors mentioned above, they might feel morally depressed and culturally uprooted.



Source : APS 2012 and UN Trends in International Migration Stock 2013



Source : Office for National Statistics, 2012 Annual Population Survey

(<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/topics/migration-to-and-from-uk>)

Some problems connected with immigration process:

- A lack of data on the characteristics, activities, attitudes and intentions of migrants. Migrants often are not joining public services (language barrier, stereotypes). *Despite of offered services*, migrants can't expect much help from the state and public services (lack of info on migrant rights both from their part and from the service providers part) (<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/topics/migration-to-and-from-uk>)
- migrants who report problems in finding accommodation do not look for the help from authorities but rely on assistance from within the migrant community or word of mouth. This is believed to be due to reasons including: not knowing where to look, not understanding entitlements and language barriers
- Available evidence on migrants' experiences has covered negative rather than positive experiences, focusing for example on crime and hostility rather than social networks and relationships (<http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2007/0299/analit06.php>). This is partly

due to poor research on migrant experiences of living in Scotland

- There is believed to be significant under-reporting of such crimes for reasons which include fear and distrust of the police (Blake Stevenson, 2007a: 28). Other local research, looking more widely at integration from the perspective of migrants, identified a number of barriers, including language, information about services, the attitude of mass media and attitude of locals
- Migrants are poorly integrated into some communities and as a result some gets largely reliant on fellow migrants and employers for social contact and activity
- Europe's response to rising immigration has not been as smoothly experienced as in other migrant destination countries. Canada, the United States, and Australia have a long history of migration; therefore, new migratory waves were not greeted with as much disdain as in Western Europe. Fears of migrants taking advantage of generous social welfare states, the dilution of cultural establishments at the national state level, and an expansion of the church and state relationships to include new religious groups are all concerns of nativists (those protecting the interests of native inhabitants against those of immigrants) within Western Europe (Carey P. 2010)
- However, regardless of the incorporation form taken by the national government, Western Europe as a whole is also dealing with a seemingly religious active immigrant population in the face of an increasingly secularized native-born population. Although formal agreements between church and state persist, regular religious participation among Western Europeans is dramatically low compared to other immigrant destination countries like the United States and the church has largely lost its authority within the public square for governmental policy (Carey P. 2010)

Migrants in mass media: an influx of illegal, failed, economic terrorists?

Britain's national newspapers play a critical role in framing the country's discourse on immigration. Developing a clearer understanding of the language that these newspapers use to discuss migrants and migration can therefore provide with important insights into the nature of this debate and the role of newspapers in it. Which words are likely to appear in newspapers next to four key target words connected with immigration

question listed above: *migrants*, *immigrants*, refugees and asylum seekers? (<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/press-releases/migrants-newspapers-influx-illegal-failed-economic-terrorists>).

Key findings:

- The most common descriptor for the word *immigrants* across all newspaper types is *illegal*
- Other descriptors of immigrants refer to their place of origin, with EU and Eastern Europe featuring
- Other consistent collocates for *immigrants* in tabloids include words referring to movement such as *into*, *stay* and *stop* and also include words which indicate concerns around security or legality such as terrorist, suspected and *sham*
- Consistent collocates for *migrants* across include economic. Other words that relate to the employment and *unemployment* are such as jobs and benefits. (<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/press-releases/migrants-newspapers-influx-illegal-failed-economic-terrorists>).
- When writing about asylum seekers mass media are focusing on illegality and permanence, using such terms as illegal, criminals and *stay*.

This report clearly shows us that mass media is mostly creating very negative image of immigrants. Next to words '*immigrant*', '*migrants*' and '*asylum seekers*' stay such terms as: terrorism, illegal, criminality, benefit. As a result, for locals, especially those who don't have contacts with immigrants in their daily life either at work, neighbourhood or free time activities, an immigrant often means uneducated person who is not respecting the laws, living on social benefits from the state and represents a danger to locals.

CHAPTER 3:

Role of the Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow

3.1 The Parish of St Kentigern in Glasgow

The Parish of St Kentigern in Glasgow is numerically one of the biggest parishes in the Diocese of Sourozh. Services are conducted in Church-Slavonic with some readings and some music in English. On 24 April 2004, shortly after Easter, a celebration of the parishes first anniversary was the first major assembly of the Russian-speaking diaspora of Glasgow. For the first year worship took place in Glasgow once every two months and then monthly. Since January 2010 Services in the Glasgow parish of St Kentigern are held at least once a week (<http://kentigern.squarespace.com/>). During the first week of Great Lent and in Holy week, services are being conducted almost every day. The secular holiday for Victory Day (9 May) has been marked. Butter-week (the period before Lent) was celebrated for the first time on 17 February 2007. It has also become customary to round off the school year with an out-of-town excursion by children and adults; a picnic, various entertainments and sports are organised in the bosom of Nature (<http://kentigern.squarespace.com/>)

3.2 Russian orthodox parish school

The school opened in 2004 and became the first institution for the education of Russian children in Scotland. The school was established with the aim of giving the opportunity for children with Russian background to develop their Russian skills, learn about their national traditions, orthodox faith and literature. The school is open also for not Russian children who want to learn Russian language and traditions. Lessons take place once a week and is open for children aged from 3 to 16 years (<http://kentigern.squarespace.com/news-eng/>). The subjects taught are: Russian, reading, speech development, Russian history, the basics of Orthodoxy, the lives of Orthodox saints, music, rhythm, sport, drawing and handicrafts. With the time, new subjects are appearing in the curriculum: Russian literature, culture, sport, handicrafts, and the lives of Orthodox saints. A section was also opened for children aged from eighteen months to four years, who are receiving lessons to develop their speech, in music and physical exercise. The school operates on a charitable basis and the

teachers work without payment. Parents are being charged with a symbolic fee which is supposed to cover the rent and study material costs.

The school is also offering classes in the Children's Singing Studio. During the class children are being taught how to sing the church hymns. Significant attention is also being paid to the learning of Russian folk-songs, music by Russian composers and children's songs. During the services, the children from the Studio are being given a chance to sing along with adult choir. At some services the choir is being constituted almost exclusively of children of various ages. As a result of classes, children are growing up being able to sing the whole Liturgy in old Slavic by themselves. Singing is a very important part of Orthodox services. Those are usually very long (with Sunday service lasting up to three hours) and singing constitutes a large part of them. Lessons at the Studio take place once a week and are combining learning how to sing, ear training, reading music and preparing for concerts. Not all of those children attending the classes are ethnic Russians or even Russian in culture, but for many of them and their parents it is important for various reasons to maintain their link with Russian culture (<http://kentigern.squarespace.com/news-eng/>). Some examples of social activities outside the church walls: As an example of not- religious activities under the direction of the Orthodox Church one can mention the celebration of the Victory Day on 9 May. This day is holiday in Russia and is widely celebrated with folk gatherings, singing, dancing, fireworks and commemoration of tragic events. This day can be surely called the most patriotic day of the year for Russia and Russians. On 10 May 2014 the members of Glasgow Russian Orthodox church gathered for celebration of the great Victory day. As a part of celebration, children of the Russian Orthodox School gave performance dedicated to the Siege of Leningrad, reciting poems and singing songs. Their performance was given against a backdrop of documentary film footage of the siege and of the period. Adults took part in the performance as well, many parents of the children come from families who survived the siege, they were sharing some memories of the veterans and family members. The performance was followed by a traditional tea party and singing of the songs, dedicated to the Great Patriotic War. Russian style black bread and buckwheat porridge were served during the party, as an attempt to show what food was basic fare during the war (<http://kentigern.squarespace.com/news-eng/>). As another example one can mention the celebration of the Day of Russia which is celebrated on the 12th of June. The priest and parish members are annually being invited to Russian consulate in Edinburgh, where along

with official talks, they are being met with concerts and served tables.

For better understanding of differences between orthodox parishes in home countries and immigrant churches, a brief comparison of the orthodox cathedral of St. Nicholas in Liepaya, Latvia (the author and two respondents are coming from this city) and Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow, will be given.

The Parish of St. Kentingen in Glasgow	The Cathedral of St. Nikolai in Liepaya
Tea meetings after every services	No gathering after the service
Russian school for children, where music, Russian history, traditions, Bible and Russian language are being taught	Bible school for children, singing for children
Common trips to the nature, celebration of big church and secular fests	Trips to holy places, monasteries
Web site with information about coming services and activities, pictures of common tours, picnics and services, information about the church board, priest and teachers in Russian school	Web site with information about coming services, the history of the church and contact information. No pictures or information about priest or parish members
Services are being shortened, so that priest can decide if all prayers during service should be read	Church statutes are very strictly followed, which makes the services much longer than in immigrant Orthodox denominations
Most servants don't have special education, parish members are organizing activities and singing in quire (everyone has a chance to contribute)	Those helping the priest mostly are those with religious education

Both churches offer Sunday school classes both for adults and children once a week. The Russian orthodox school in Glasgow additionally offers children such classes as: Russian language, history, Russian culture and the basics of orthodoxy. All teachers working there as volunteers. So, comparing with Sunday school's role in home country, where it has to deal with the spiritual development of children, the school in Glasgow helps parents to raise their

children being aware of their roots, the culture their parents are coming from, and being able to speak their mother tongue. In my home country I have never experienced tradition of staying after the service and having a tee sessions with other parish members. Coming to Glasgow it was a new and positive experience of after-service sessions, as the church becomes not only the place one gets spiritual help, place for praying, but also the platform where one can feel the part of the community, the place where during the tee brake one can speak native language, ask for the help and advice, find new friends and simply meet interesting people. It is also giving the opportunity to participate more actively in church life. Anna: *‘in the church in my home town, I didn’t have a chance to sing in a quire, as, despite having musical education and knowing the service, I didn’t have good enough voice. Here, where few people can sing and know the service, I’m singing in the quire’*. My personal experience has shown that, if in the home country one gets most friends from work, sport activities or studies, then after moving, the most friends are from the church, and these are not only people who share the same religious views, but also those having the same situation (often similar economic situation, the status of immigrants)

Conclusion

The church in Glasgow, as an immigrant church, is more focused on upbringing of children according to Russian traditions, creating platform for communication between congregation members, common activities and both religious and secular feast celebration. At the same, the churches in home countries are more focused on spiritual help, confessions, long traditional services, commemorations of saints and helping poor, following Christian call to help those in need (most churches offer free meals for homeless and poor; parish members are also being invited to bring old cloth and used things for the poor). So, while immigrant churches are more concerned with parishioners well-being (emotional, social, spiritual), churches in home countries- with their soles.

Social Connections

Being a two-way change process, integration entails conditions for and participation of immigrants in all respects of life. This means newcomers full participation in the host country's life and having a sense of belonging and membership in society. Social bounds is seen as an inherent condition for an integrated and well-functioning society. We can call a society integrated when there is an absence of conflicts and high level of tolerance between

different groups living in it. Connections between the refugees/ immigrants and the local society can be reached through connections between friends, family members and common values. Social connections are based on *social bonds*, where along with bonds within family, ethnic group, national groups and other forms of groups, an important role play bonds within religious group. A bond to religious group not only enables an immigrant to share cultural, spiritual practices and maintain relationships, but is also significantly contributing to better integration. Especially this is important for isolated immigrants who come to a new place without their families or friends. Membership in such a group serves as a voice for such person and it makes it less possible for him to get depressed. *Social bridges*, on another hand, mean existing relationship between the local community and the immigrants. Here the most important role play the sense of acceptance and as a result, a lack of conflicts. Negative perceptions of immigrants by locals, makes the integration process much slower and more complicated. One more important part of social connections is *social links*. These are connections between people and official structures of the states. What is government doing in order to make the integration process more smooth?

As we see from this division, it's crucial in all types of social connections to have a platform for participation. All three types are interconnected and if maintained, make the integration process much faster and less painful for the immigrant. In this research we focus on social bonds within the religious group, which often is a first phase in integration process. Strong bonds within such group are either isolate the immigrant from the larger society and provide him a social capital within this group, or, on the contrary, help him to build stronger social bridges.

3.3 Moral/spiritual aspect

Question: How Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow influences Russian speaking immigrant mental health and emotional well being?

*"Immigrants are religious- by all counts
more religious than they were before they left home-
because religion is one of the important
identity makers that helps them
preserve individual self-awareness
and cohesion in a group"*

(Rodriguez G., Speicher K., Wilburn J. 2004: 6)

Coming to the new country of residence, people feel cultural pluralism more strongly than in their home countries where they often represent the majority. Immigrants feel the loss of belonging to a group of people they have most in common, the loss of the purpose, place, way and security. After receiving the immigrant status, people become more aware of their national culture, religion and history. In order to find a place in the new society for immigrants it's crucial is not to become a stranger to himself. In order to find one's place in the diverse multicultural society they are strangers to, they start to research more deeply the history of their nation and homeland, and pay more attention to the features, which make them different from others. In the modern world, where the belief in culture is much stronger than belief in politicians and the state the saying: ' *The nation is alive while its culture is alive*' (<https://baylor-ir.tdl.org/baylor-ir/handle/2104/8130>) becomes more actual for immigrants. National identity and cultural feelings of the nation become much stronger when one lives in unusual circumstances, unusual culture, when the nation stops to be the united ethnic mass, the self identification becomes the part of existence. Receiving state's policies that stipulate the conditions of cultural recognition and expression produce critical incentive structures for the retention or loss of immigrant cultural characteristics and in such conditions, the immigrant church is satisfying moral demands of the displaced people and is the place where cultural values are being preserved.

3.3.a. Identity

*"We want to belong to something
that we could call family because
we are struggling to identify who we are"*
(Menjívar C. 2000:7)

Immigration often provokes profound questions about identity. In some cases, this is a reaction to the stereotyping and prejudice that immigrants experience upon arriving to a new culture (Foley, Hoge (2007:25)). But the simple experience of difference may also provoke a new awareness and appreciation of one's own culture and heritage. Not only identity connected to belonging to the larger society are under press. Immigration also brings changes in religious behaviour, family roles division and other areas of life. For example, young people and their parents thus struggle with questions of identity, because these are tied up with everyday comportment, parent–child relations, and children's future course.

Immigrant churches help migrants to build new identities which help them to find their place in new, unknown experience. Every person has many identities, some of which are real, while others are fictional, some are created for ourselves, some- for other people, groups and individuals. Russian immigrants in Glasgow might have several identities: as, the person from Moscow, female, unemployed, single, while their common identities are: Russian speaking, orthodox, immigrant. Having the common identities, as refugees, unemployed, ethnic minority with thousands of Muslim and Hindu immigrants coming all over the world, they at the same time have their Christian identity for building relationships with other Christian immigrants and local Christians and Christian orthodox identity for building their relationship with other orthodox Christians. One can hardly come to know himself and understand one's identity, without being aware of others like you. At the same time, feeling your own and your group's identity, helps you to understand other groups better and allow them to make a right view of you.

When explaining his affiliation to immigrant church one immigrant admitted: *"As I kept learning about my heritage and religion, I became more confident and sure of myself. With the wealth of knowledge by my side, I felt strong. I felt a sense of belonging, but not the*

sameness, as though I were an individual piece adding colour to the complete picture. I could fit in but still be different. How to fit but still maintain one's cultural and personal integrity is the challenge that most immigrants face" (Laderman G., León L. 2014: 133).

People usually build strong conceptions of each other's identities, often wrong and negative, based on the way we speak, behave, dress. Religious beliefs and practices are central to immigrants, because it's one of the major forces shaping and changing constructions of personal and community identity among immigrants. Identity is being made out of the category the receiving society is assigning them and on another hand they feel they identity themselves (Laderman G., León L., 2014: 133). During this process of identity building, immigrants are integrating in a way of *becoming British by becoming Russian*. Individuals often choose to participate in an immigrant or ethnic worship community because they enjoy the company of those like themselves and are proud of their ethnic heritage As Peggy Levitt notes, "instead of loosening their connections and trading one membership for another, some individuals are keeping their feet in both worlds. They use political, religious, and civic arenas to forge social relations, earn their livelihoods, and exercise their rights across borders" This clearly shows that immigrants make *numerous adjustments and accommodations*, in a process that is by no means a transition from one, fixed identity to another (Foley, Hoge (2007:185)). .

Some respondents showed their worries about the attitude of locals towards the immigrants from Eastern Europe and Russia. It's been considered among immigrants from post-soviet countries that *"locals have the best attitude towards British, then towards immigrants from India and other former British colonies, then all other immigrants from developed countries and at the last place are immigrants from E8 and other former communist countries"*. Many immigrants from Eastern Europe have experienced that when locals hear their accent, immediately comes the question: "Are you from Poland?". This is a common definition for all white immigrants from Eastern Europe, the label, the tag put on them. Another aspect is a slowdown of immigrant alienation from their home countries. Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow parish organizes visits of priests, relatives and guests from Russia and other former USSR countries. This helps to preserve the ties with their home countries, native language and identity: national, ethnic and religious.

What helps immigrants to preserve their national identity:

- a. Much of the “material” of identity among immigrants and children of immigrants is connected with cultural artefacts such as food and clothing.
- b. Language is also a crucial mark of identity, which is based on their fluency in their mother tongue.
- c. Cultural heritage is that carries us throughout our lives. Learning more about own culture helps migrants to deal with situations new place
- d. Celebration of national and local holidays

3.3.b Immigrants ‘‘Like Jesus’’, Church ‘‘like a mother’’

Many immigrants admit that have faced negative, discriminating attitude while visiting public social services in search for the help and support. Its majority of natives who are working there and their attitude towards new immigrants is usually negative, not tolerant or even humiliating. Immigrants often feel confused and ashamed to go to official social institutions and ask for the support: nationality, language barrier, lack of personal approach and the negative attitude, don't let immigrants to feel protected by them. The church, on another side, is being perceived as mother, whom you can always turn to in need and will always be welcomed and get everything one needs. Immigration is often bound with injustice and discrimination, while the church, on another hand, inviting everyone to fight the inequality and help those in difficult situation. Church teaches that one should show his belief and trust to God not only by attending church services and praying home, but in everyday life, helping brothers and sisters, feeding your hungry neighbour, living the life with and for others''

The change in their majority/minority status as well as labels which immigrants get in their new place of residence, strongly influence their well-being. One of the main problems immigrants face upon arriving is when they are being perceived primary in terms of their political status rather than their human identity. According to these labels, local people make judgements, creating asymmetrical relationship. So, it's usual to think, that, for example, if the person comes from Russia, he has to like alcohol, be rude and lazy. The church gives everyone feeling of equality, it doesn't recognize such labels as *legal*, *illegal*

immigrant, *citizen* or *non-citizen*, as all its members are citizens of the Kingdom of God. In the Russian church in Glasgow there are several people without the citizenship of any country, so called undocumented migrants, who can't vote, travel or work. They admit that in the church, they don't feel different or ashamed of being aliens, not only because there are other people who are experiencing similar situation, but also because they feel that for God it doesn't matter which citizenship you have (Isaksen Leonard K., 2006). Christ himself was going to a strange land, so immigrants, leaving their home countries, are going his journey. The chance for immigrants to meet the sojourners in parish gives them a feeling that they are not alone on the road, that there are others following the same path.

The church offers immigrants and receiving society to look on migration from theological perspective, as a way of thinking about God. It raises questions about the meaning of person in this world, social justice and the right attitude towards it, which serves as important impetus in the ministry of reconciliation and as the force for understanding and responding to migrants and refugees.

Leaving their home countries, immigrants are going Jesus' journey and they are not sure whether they will make it better than in home countries. God is opening up a path of freedom in the world of barriers, restrictions and division. The church assures immigrants that those who are excluded in this life, will be given priority in the Kingdom of God, those who are suffering now, will get reward in future. Those who are exiles on Earth are sojourners going to another place.

Viewing this process from the theological perspective, helps us to look on it more deeply, accounting relational and spiritual dimensions of human life, which are shaping, defining and sustaining human existence.

4.3.c Ethnicity

"A Russian without the Orthodoxy is rubbish",

Dostoevsky F.

*"He flights into the clouds,
rushing the leader,
But the leader tells him severely:
"Though that land is warmer,
but the motherland is sweater -
remember this word, little crane,
otherwise you will never become the real crane"*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CIS0dvqb3vI>

This famous soviet Russian song tells about the crane flock who are forced to migrate annually in order to survive. They all feel very sad except for one little crane, who wants to see new places and enjoy the warmth of new lands. "In order to become the real crane, one should always remember the motherland, think about it and want to come back", teach him parents. For the Russian to remain the true, complete person, means preserving Russian culture, keep connection with the motherland, love it and think about it. Many people, like cranes are forced to move away from Russia, but one can still become/stay real Russian only if one keeps national traditions, language, and religion. According to one of the most famous Russian writers Dostoevsky, its religion, the Orthodoxy, which makes a person Russian. One doesn't become Russian from birth, it's not enough to have Russian surname and speak the language, not all Russians have deserved to be called *Russian*. The history shows that to be Russian means to be orthodox. For Russian it's an orthodoxy which gives the knowledge about the family life, history, the meaning of life, its an orthodoxy which holds Russian state and nation, and if it disappears, the whole nation will collapse. Every nation needs a core which would unite its members. If in Soviet times it was communism, then now it's an orthodox faith which unites people. Living in home country, people usually don't realize this side of religion, and are hardly aware of their nationality and culture, being a part

of the environment they are used to from childhood. However, after getting the immigrant status, they start searching for different aspects which could help them to survive in new environment.

Preserving ethnicity

Immigrant churches are unique institutions which can simultaneously facilitate the integration of their members and serve as bastions for preserving their ethnicity. Religion continues to be important for immigrants, providing a social space for expressing ethnic differences, while religious organizations continue to serve both ethnic reproduction and assimilation functions. Some immigrant religious communities emphasize their member's religious identity more than ethnic core, while others stress ethnic identity and use religious institution mostly as a means of preserving cultural traditions and ethnic boundaries (Yang F., Ebaugh H.R. 2001).

One of the most widely researched aspects of church influence is culture preservation and gathering people with common memories, history and traditions. It's the church which hold the representatives of one ethnic group together, which helps them to keep their native language, customs and find their place in multicultural society. Immigrant churches and religious organizations also help immigrants to hold ties with sending countries, what can have different effect on immigrant integration process (Levitt P., 2002: 2-5). Researchers have different view on this question- while some stress that keeping close ties with sending countries can only slow down assimilation process, others, like have noted that institutions such as the church, far from isolating newcomers from participating in life of the receiving country, they are, on the contrary, actually providing the organizational vehicles that allow them to participate in it. Many immigrants, especially active church members, are successful in maintaining ties with their communities of origin while simultaneously attempting to become part of the host society.

The act of uprooting and resettlement produce the intensification of the psychic basis of religious commitment. So, immigrants can be divided into 3 groups:

- those who are religious, but don't hold ethnic identity
- people who have ethnic identity, but are not religious

- people who realize both-religious and ethnic identities

If we speak about the relationship between religion and ethnics, we can mark three cases: religion is foundation of ethnicity; second type is "ethnic religion", when religion is one of foundations of ethnicity; the third group is religious ethnicity. Russians can form the second group- ethnic religion when to be orthodox means to be Russian.

At the same time, ethnic grouping is determined by immigrant identification with particular religious traditions *more than any other factor*, such as common language, national feeling or belief in common descent (Yang F.; Ebaugh H.R. 2001). This creates new identities for Russian immigrants, making them feel:

- Russian orthodox
- Orthodox
- Fellow Christian in a Christian state.

According to "religious pluralism" model, immigrants and their descendants would retain their old religion, whereas everything else from the old country, including original language and national loyalty, would be given up. In reality religious identity never fully replaces ethnic identity. Although, the presence of several ethnic orthodox churches in Glasgow shows that they are primarily based on ethnic reproduction. Respondent answers approved this statement. When asked, if they attend the services in other orthodox churches, when there is no service in Russian church, few answered positively, stressing that the main is not the nationality of parish members, but the orthodox service and the opportunity to pray with other orthodox people, while others have admitted that they don't understand the service and sermons and feel "*double immigrant*" among representatives of other nations (Isaksen Leonard K., 2006, 83). Ethnicity and national origin are main bases for the creation and development of multiply orthodox denominations in Glasgow. Also the fact that services in Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow are not being translated to English, which would be an effective measure for proselytizing and attracting new members, shows the strong ethnical component of it.

Although, we should also pay attention to possible negative effect of the churches role as a space for preserving ethnicity. As discussed earlier some refugees remain attached or maintain strong ties with their ethnic groups. This is said to be a disadvantage to

integration because the victims are likely to become distinct from the main host society due to lack of mobility. Any ordinary inhabitant is likely to have some connections or relations with their fellow countrymen or foreigners when in a foreign country. This gives them a sense of belonging and a 'feeling at home' sense. (Anyim Olausen I. (2013). This is especially strongly expressed in non-western countries, where ties between family and nation members are very strong. At the same time researches show that strong ethnic attachment leads to weaker integration levels and vice versa.

Worship communities reinforce ethnicity first and foremost by providing a common setting in which people of similar backgrounds may come together, "increasing social interactions among co- ethnic members and ... providing a social space for comfort, fellowship, and a sense of belonging". At the same time, within their ethnic affiliations, the immigrants are able to create enclaves whose relationships with the outside community are defined solely in economic terms. *Thus, stronger ethnic ties would often mean slower immigrant integration into larger society.*

"Ethnic attachment suggests that ethnic connectedness produces group solidarity, which can be helpful to its members. However, with the exception of some European groups, ethnic connectedness comes with a cost in terms of reduced opportunities in the open job market due to lack of connections and contacts in mainstream society, as well as in terms of accentuating social distinctiveness. Ethnic distinctiveness also becomes grounds for economic penalty in a society that reinforces and rewards conformity and assimilation. Thus the literature of ethnic attachment treats ethnic ties as aspects of ethnic identity that contribute to solidarity and distinctiveness of ethnic communities but retard social mobility in main-stream society" (Li, 2004, p. 178).

3.3.d Common Memories, Fellowship

If we live in a community and try to solve our problems as a community, we'll do much better

Acosta K. 2008: 35

Migrants can't take the holy, sacred places with them, but the church architecture, attributes and symbols in it make them feel home. It gives them an opportunity to commemorate the dead relatives and friends without going to the cemetery in home country and together with compatriots pray for the well-being of their home country.

Socializing aspect is one of the main reasons non-religious immigrants decide to attend the church for the first time. While immigrant children can make friends at school and outdoor activities, older people, have a little chance to integrate into new society. They are often more conservative and don't want to be absorbed by the Western "evil" values and become the part of transnational society, trying to keep tight contacts with the home countries. Older people usually try to keep the memories from the "good life" they had in home countries. Not being able to use the modern technologies for keeping in touch with relatives, friends home, they feel morally depressed and lost in the new society. The church is the place where common traditions and memories are being kept and becomes an island of the motherland in "evil Western world".

Being the member of the parish, give immigrants the sense of fellowship. Stronger sense of fellowship is more likely in smaller worship communities or in communities in which people have opportunities to participate in small, face-to-face gatherings. At least once or twice a week, immigrants get the chance to gather for praying and communication. This is especially important for those immigrants, mostly middle age and older women, who don't speak English, don't have work and mostly spending time home, doing house duties, raising children. Outside the church, the only people they are communicating with, are family members, although also this communication is often being negatively influenced by immigration caused factors, such as the loss of social status and as a result depression and irritation. Participating in church life give the feeling of belonging, fellowship, support and hope for the better future (Stephen Warner R, Wittner J. 1998).

The church seems to be better option for those seeking communication also

because many organizations have membership requirements (different social, economic classes, professions), which the church doesn't have, so any social, economic class representative can become the part of it. For example, to join some sport groups, one need certain skills, age; to join a quire, one needs good voice and certain language skills, while, to become the member of the church there are no any requirements.

Migrants admit that when they lived in Russia, the church was invisible, it was a part of environment, where one can pray, baptise newborns and commemorate dead people. (<http://murmansk.kp.ru/daily/25868/2833958/>). At the same time, Russian immigrant church became a place where one can charge his "Russian batteries". All the Russian diaspora s life is organized around the church. Before one used to speak about nostalgia, as the boarders of the USSR were closed, now people can travel their and back and communicate with relatives home using new technologies, but still Russia is like a mother, whose house you have left, but time to time, you need to enjoy the feeling of mother's love, so sometimes there are moments when you need to communicate with other Russian speaking immigrants, hear "the voice of motherland", remember the common truth. Even when there are other, like Russian kindergartens, schools, libraries, church is the only place where one doesn't speak about the money, most people know what the sufferings mean and where everyone understand each other.

3.3.e Respondent experiences within the local context

Adjustment to new life " is a painful attempt to function in a life predicated on different principles, and operating with different patterns than the ones which moulded the immigrant's personality. Merely to adjust will always feel uncomfortable- abrasive, or jarring in interpersonal relations and confining to the individual"

(Elovitz P. ,Kahn C., 1997: 25)

All respondents were united in their opinion that the church as an institution is a main centre for uniting Russian speaking immigrants and the place where Russian language and culture are being preserved. As the main positive characteristics of the Russian church in Glasgow, many respondents mentioned, after service tea meetings. From 12 respondents, there was only one, Maris, who was leaving the church straight after the service. Others admitted that exactly these meetings help to build the *social network and make friends*.

Anton, who has decided that his future wife will be Russian speaking, admitted that the church and especially tea meetings after the service, is the only place he can look for the future wife. He missed such social arrangements while living in Estonia, where after attending the church for many years, he wasn't able to establish friendship with congregation members, as after the service everyone was going home to their families and friends. In a way it wasn't seen as necessary to meet and communicate, as everyone had his social networks established and had family members close to him. In Glasgow, where he came alone, the church gave him friends, family and "*hope to find a future wife*".

Another general point raised during interviews with older respondents related common memories and soviet past. Serz, who came to Glasgow as 40 years old, admitted that his generation was brought up in "soviet" traditions, which are quite different from Western European culture. They were taught that everything Western is evil and western people are spoiled and insincere

All respondents repeated that new status and experiences of immigrants are often negative. Upon arrival many immigrants, especially men, had lost their *social status* which had a notable negative impact on their identity, self-confidence and relationship in the family. Women, on another side, are integrating much slower than men due to such factors as bad health, family care/responsibilities, and maternity leaves. For example, family responsibilities is one of the reasons for women non- participation in the labour market or society at large which slower their integration process. Occupying high and responsible positions in the church organization, they felt important and needed. For example, Ira, who was holding a high position in the home country, during her stay in Glasgow, has never worked, which not only prevented her from getting friends, earning money and learning the language, but also had negative impact on her emotional well-being, as she felt lonely and useless. Becoming the leader of the church quire gave her confidence, the feeling of belonging, of usefulness.

However, a majority of immigrant interviewed, both men and women, admitted that in order to be successful and to get accepted in a new place of residence, they need to accept locals traditions, lifestyle and abandon some habits which were important in their home countries, they also pointed that one can't be happy and morally satisfied if one fully refuses from his language, culture and religion. Maris admitted that he feels the minority status more strongly when big orthodox feast are coming. While in Russia they had free days on Easter

and Christmas, in the UK Christmas is on 25 of December, so holidays, Christmas parties and celebrations are falling on orthodox fast period.

When asked about their way to preserve their culture and language, most of them answered that it is a church, some mentioned Sunday school for children and only one, as a best way for keeping Russian traditions for children, mentioned reading books and watching Russian films together with family members.

The observation of parish members revealed that it's more the cultural and social/socializing role of the church which plays the most important role, while its spiritual role has often been in shadow. While Orthodox church teaches that Sunday service is continuation of Saturday service, so it's important to attend both, most respondents were attending only Sunday services, when more people come, so one can more easily communicate and get information and help heeded.

During the period of 4 month, author had noticed that only 5 people were attending Saturday services regularly while during Sunday service one could usually see around 50 people. This explains also the fact that only 3 respondents have admitted that they wouldn't move to Glasgow, if it wasn't an orthodox church there, as they are very religious and can't live without attending services regularly.

When asked "what the church means for you?", most women mentioned *socializing*. And yet, whilst most of the men were saying that they didn't think about such question before, they would mention the cultural aspect and the preserving of moral values for their children, as main aspects.

Only Georg said that the church is a spiritual institution, where people can communicate with God and rectify their sins, and it's not nice to imagine the church "as a market where people gather to speak and discuss their new dress, their dreams and problems". When asked those who haven't attended the church before, in their home lands, to explain why did they became the church members in Glasgow, most respondents admitted that they were in usual and safe atmosphere in their home countries, with their friends, family around, good social status, while in a new country, especially in the first period of immigration, they felt unsecured, unwelcome and lonely, which made them think of ways to stabilize their situation.

When asked if the role of the church they experienced in home countries is different from that they experience now, Anna and George said that for them the church gives

them strong moral and spiritual support and main advantage of having the immigrant church in new place of residence, is the opportunity to pray, regularly attend the church services and communicate with “faith brothers” both Russians and other nationalities.

As many respondents admitted, after moving out of their homelands, they stopped being Russians, as they started to dress differently, speak differently and have different lifestyle. One of the respondents admitted that during her visit to Russia, she experienced several times that local Russians refused to admit her as equal Russian, telling that she doesn't look Russian, speaks with different pronunciation and behaves differently. This made Anna very disappointed, as she felt unwelcome neither in Glasgow, nor in Russia.

In adapting to local society a substantial amount of new immigrants experience a significant religious divide. Religious differences between immigrants and natives are a matter of practice as well as preference. Those who are devout believers and faithful practitioners of religious rituals may be quite distant from one another, as well as from natives, in terms of values and behaviours. That's why it's worth to look on religious practice both in home country and new country of residence. In order to understand the change of religious behaviour, respondents were asked about their religious participation in their home country (Table 1) and in Glasgow (Table 2). From 12 respondents, 5 admitted that they were not attending the church and were not interested in religious questions. However, only 2 out of these 5 were not baptised upon arriving to Glasgow. The rest 7 respondents were attending the church services, with 4 of them attending the church regularly (regularly means at least 2 church visits a week). This data shows the increase of church attendance after immigration. At the same time, those who have attended the church services regularly (at least twice a week), after moving experience decline in service attendance. This fact can be partly described as reduced access to appropriate facilities in Glasgow. Due to very small number of Orthodox Christians in the country, different national Orthodox denominations rent the church facilities from other religious groups with services being conducted not so frequently as in their home countries. However, there are 3 other ethnic Orthodox churches in Glasgow: Georgian, Rumanian and Greek, which are open for everyone despite their ethnic affiliation. Based on this data we can conclude: *"Although people do not change their religious beliefs when they migrate internationally, they do change their religious behaviours. Settling into a country of destination is necessarily a time-consuming process that involves learning a new language, mastering a strange culture, and working hard to earn money and get ahead*

economically, activities that necessarily compete with religious practice for the scarce time at immigrants' disposal" (Douglas S., M. E. Higgins).

All 12 respondents have stressed an emotional help the church is providing them. Such terms as “warmth”, “home”, “pleasant memories”, “rest”, “security” “common” , “identity” , “common past”, “sense of belonging” were used while explaining the church in Glasgow. It clearly shows that the role of the church as “an island” for hiding from negative experiences as an immigrant, “alien”, foreigner, is a vital for preserving immigrant mental health and emotional well-being. Especially this could be relevant for two groups: female and older immigrants. Both groups often being excluded from labour market and communication with locals, feel depressed, mentally exhausted and the church becomes very important for their life quality. So, answering the chapter question, we can admit that the *Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow strongly and positively influence Russian speaking immigrant mental health and emotional state.*

4.4. Practical help

Question 2: Does and how the Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow influence Russian speaking immigrant integration?

Different church models in Russia and Glasgow, make the last, more open for people, suitable for socializing and less hierarchical. In Russia and other post-soviet republics, the priests are being ordinated from ‘up’, so the parish member can't influence this process. Usually they are staying in their positions so long as they are able to fulfil their duties. It's not usual to blame or demand another priest, as “one comes not to the priest, but to the God. *"We shouldn't blame and evaluate the priest, as he is only an instrument in God's hands and all ordinances are being actually performed by God."* (<http://azbyka.ru/za-chto-sudit-batyushku.shtml>)

The situation in immigrant churches generally and the Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow in particular is different. The immigrant church is more community based, more focused on fulfilment of parishioners needs and is less hierarchical. In the short period of time, the author has stayed in Glasgow, the priest and the quire leader have been changed. The conflict in the parish about certain organization of the church interior and parish

functions had divided community into priest supporters and oppositions, which ended up with the assignment of a new priest. The church in Glasgow is more open for people, priest is available 24/7, both personally and via internet/telephone, there is much more opportunity to influence the parish life and participate in it. Parishes are usually much smaller than in home countries, which creates the family atmosphere and makes it possible for the priest to get acquainted with all parish members. Church in Glasgow offers after service tea sessions, celebration of significant events in community members lives, outdoor activities and Russian school.

Social focus of Russian immigrant church can also be approved with the fact that it doesn't have active missionary work, so its primary task is not to proselytize Scottish, but to serve immigrants. All services in the church are being conducted only in Russian, with exception of some prayers, like "Our Father", which are being read in both languages English, there are no missionary services, some priests can't communicate in English well. For not Russians it would be even problematic to become the parish member if they can't speak/understand Russian. Despite the information in English about the church and services in the church web site, the services and all parish activities are being conducted in Russian (<http://kentigern.squarespace.com/>).

The church is not only giving the opportunity, but also invites the immigrants to actively participate in addressing social problems they face, reflecting them from spiritual perspective about the political and economic forces that affect their lives. Such, the low social status and life quality of immigrants is being explained with the challenge to remain humble and suffer in this life, in order to get the reward in the next life, as example mentioning, Jesus who provides us with examples of compassion and love despite his difficult journey in this life (Kerwin D., Gerschutz J.M., 2009: 12). The church invites both immigrants and hosts to help those immigrants who are in worse situation, reminding the story from the Bible, when Jesus and disciples were tired, but they didn't abandon hungry people and helped them. Jesus who didn't abandon those in need teaches everyone not to reject anyone in need and help without expecting anything in return. Our Lord calls us to respond, to help others, to have compassion for our neighbours, and importantly, to do something, to act (Kerwin D., Gerschutz J.M., 2009: 9)

3.4.a. Upbringing of children

Immigrant children (so called, second generation) have been brought up within the educational system of the country of destination; will probably be fluent in the new language; and will have acquired citizenship and made other extensive investments in life in the new country. On a range of dimensions, such as national identity, social relationships, values, education and occupational attainment, the second generation may be expected to come much closer to their peers in the new country than their parents. Those who were born in home countries but raised and educated in the UK (the so-called 1.5 generation) may share some of their parents' memories and attachments to home, but they are generally immersed in whatever Scottish subculture dominates their experience of school and neighbourhood. They may well be fluent in their parents' language, but their everyday language is most likely to be English, which they manage with even greater fluency. They know intimately the cultural models that their parents and grandparents hold up, but they cannot help but be shaped by UK culture, as conveyed by television, films, school, and friends. Therefore, special attention should be paid to the problem of immigrant children upbringing. Is it better to teach children own culture, so they identify themselves primarily as Russians, or is it better for themselves and the state to let them assimilate? Should one transmit to children own values, or let them absorb the values prevailing within the local society?

While during Soviet times children were being brought up by the whole nation, feeling themselves living in one huge, friendly family, in post-Soviet Russia and other republics, as well as in Western Europe, there is 'private property and the private child'. Many immigrant parents are concerned with that state authorities in Glasgow are concerned not with the moral upbringing of children but rather with breaking up the authority of parents and their right to punish their own child (Anderson 2002: 8). Many Russian migrants are concerned that educational institutions in the UK do not give sufficient moral guidance to children, do not teach them what is good and what is bad. 'Parenting has ceased to be a private issue here- the authorities have started involve into family life by giving extra rights to children, who are becoming less obedient' (Maris). This point is supported by the research conducted in Scotland and which demonstrated that children are less willing to accept adult authority' (Anderson 2002: 8). The participation in church life and communication with other Russian families, give parents the hope that children will get god moral education and will

avoid total 'westernisation'.

With westernisation they understand unstable families, sexual promiscuity, drug and alcohol abuse and violence. Attitudes and values that children are picking up from schools in many ways seems completely alien to the parents and create frightening feeling that the second generation are growing up *to be total strangers with whom parents and other relatives could not even communicate* (Anderson 2002: 44). According to the researches, by the second generation, the advantages that the first generation bring with them begin to disappear, and by the third generation, infant mortality rates, levels of obesity, heart disease, and diabetes match national levels, as do tobacco and alcohol consumption and other risky behaviours. Second and third generation members of all immigrant groups have worse health, and make worse lifestyle choices, than the first generation, resembling in all major respects the native-born American population by the third generation. Immigrant children often start to dissociate themselves from everything that shows their nationality, race, and can even feel ashamed of their parents. Children have to deal with the difficult issue of negotiating their personal and cultural identity, between the values and practices they learned home and those of the local society. In the growing process they raise questions about their own culture and religion to which parents not always have answers. In home country children could "breathe" in the local culture and values. In host country, parents realize that unless they make deliberate effort, children would never learn what their "Russianness" means.

Religion is the main tool for expressing the cultural pluralism. One article in the Russian Orthodox Church web site, tells about the concern of parish members about the democratic values in Western world, when everyone's values are being protected and everything is allowed. American missionary had faced the group of gays in the streets of Glasgow. Making him express his opinion about homosexuality, they later have called the police, accusing him in moral abuse and discrimination; the missionary was acknowledged guilty and had to pay fine (<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1262310/Gay-rights-campaigner-condemns-1-000-fine-preacher-said-homosexuality-sin.html>). "We don't want our children to be different, but I want them to respect the Christian values" (Maris)

The research made by Scottish government about the integration of immigrant children shows the negative perception of local way of life.

A new country: perceptions of Scotland and the UK:

- *buildings and houses*: Edinburgh castle, high flats, old buildings, old folks home, '*all stuck together*', many have chimneys
- *scenery or countryside*: Highlands, Skye, animals, beach, sea
- *customs or festivals*: Easter, Burn's Night, Carnival, Christmas, New Year, Good Friday, Irn Bru Festival, Hogmanay
- *food*: fish and chips, tatties, hot dog, potatoes, black pudding, cabbage, haggis, sweets, crisps, curry
- *manners and habits*: swearing, helping people, such as a blind man to cross the road, murders, drinking, pubs, stay out late, parties, dressing up like punks
- *weather*: always horrible, windy, stormy, always raining, gales, '*mixed up*', '*you never know what kind of day it's going to be*'
- *clothes*: kilt
- *games*: football
- *People*: Perceptions of Scottish people were quite clearly divided according to their age. 'Older' people were regarded as very kind and helpful. Younger people, however, came across as threatening and aggressive, from the way they dressed and the way they acted.

Not so good things about living in Scotland:

- Young people are being described as smoking, swearing, spitting and spray painting. They were associated with the general violence,' swearing, shouting, drunkenness, fights, killings, murders, abuse'.
- Scots eat 'lots, lots of fat things'. Scottish children ate a lot of sweets and chocolate and these were often given to them by their parents.
- Scottish parents are perceived as being 'kind', 'spoiling their children rotten' by giving them 'everything they want', including expensive play stations. It seems that Scots not pay them enough attention to their children

The Russian Orthodox Church parish in Glasgow constitutes a 'big, friendly family' for every Russian child and they feel that every member of this community is concerned about each other's life and all are happy to manage to keep best traditions of Soviet times. Although parents and the church can't totally avoid the westernisation of their children, they can influence some aspects of it. Some parents are concerned about the celebration of Halloween which their children can't avoid, as it's widely celebrated. The priest admitted that, we, as immigrants, can't refuse from the attributes of life existing in the host country, but keeping our faith and traditions, we won't 'lose our face' (Maris).

3.4.b Relationship with other minorities and locals

Many researchers speak about the importance of minority integration. Fukuyama says that the integration of the immigrants is one of the main factors for stability and peace in the country (Fukuyama F.,2006:6). According to him, inability to integrate immigrants can be more dangerous for the democracy than terrorism that's why modern politics is based on marginalized groups. The immigrant church adds new identity to those the immigrant had from his home country. It makes it easier for the state to integrate them as a group, not as individuals, which, in its turn, makes them more understandable and acceptable for locals, they are not seen as a threat after they are being explored.

Comparing with USA where the vast majority of immigrants are Hispanic and share the Christian heritage, Europe face the harder problem of integrating their immigrants, the majority of whom are Muslim. While Europe and particularly UK, is concerned with finding the right direction for integrating Muslims, Russian Christian minority becoming a part of larger Christian group which makes them closer to Scottish, British Christians who are concerned with spreading of Islam and the differences between Christian and Muslim cultures. (Francis Fukuyama 15:6). So called "pan- ethnic" identities or religious identities might emerge, uniting members of different ethnic groups through a common faith or uniting the different denominations through belonging to one religion.

Moving to a new place of residence people are being met with environments that

include variety of features that they can hardly control, while those can exert significant impacts on them. Coming to the new country of residence, along with practical needs, like work and place to stay, it's crucial for the immigrant, how successful he will be in establishing relationship with other minorities, living in country, which represent different nationalities and religions and the host society. Russia, as one of the biggest countries in the world, represent many religions and ethnic groups. Although most respondents have admitted that they didn't communicate much with minorities while living in Russia. Russian community is very split, so one can say that national minorities live in the country inside the country, separately from Russian majority.

Pressures on immigrants to assimilate themselves to broader groupings appear to be strongest for small and more isolated immigrant populations. This is because small groups cannot easily form their own worship communities and ethnic organizations. Although Russians don't have divisions into tribes or regions, like, for example Indians, Russians from post soviet republics have strong identity as Russian minority. But these groups are too small to organize their own churches, enclave churches or organizations. The religions brought to this country by immigrants carry the distinctive traits of the culture in which they were practices.

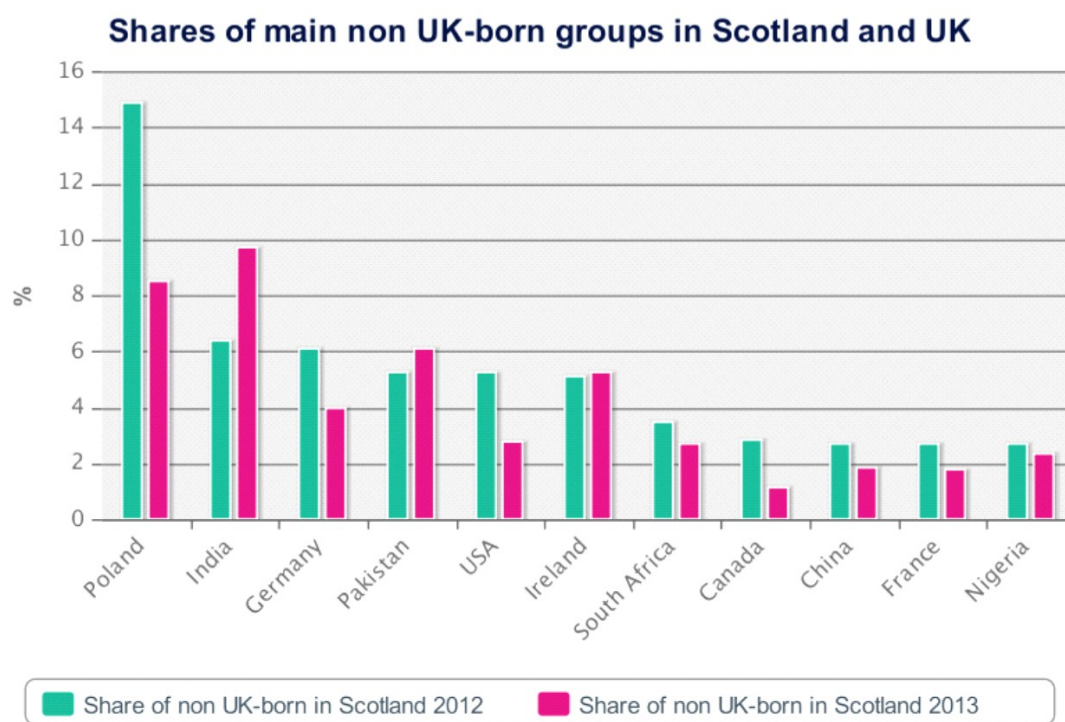
Coming to the UK, they face the same situation, with the difference that they representing minority group. While in Russia, for example, Muslims are minority, in the UK, Russians, as orthodox, become much smaller minority both in comparison with the local Christian denominations and other minority religious groups, so they have to build new type of relationship with other minorities and natives. For many Russians from post-soviet countries, like Latvia or Estonia, where very few immigrants live and only little percentage of them is Muslim, new life besides huge Muslim minorities becomes a challenge and people don't know how identify themselves: as follow immigrant or as Christian. In this case the church members and the priest are helping them with advice and guidelines to *avoid misunderstandings and problems* in communication. In the church new comers not only can consult the priest both electronically, on the phone and personally, but also by understanding their own religion better, find their place in the unknown multicultural society. Orthodox Church teaches that orthodoxy is the only right religion, but one should respect all people who don't know it yet or reject it. Getting to know one's own religion, one understands other religious and ethnic groups better (<<http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/2416490.html>>).

For Russian immigrants from different post-soviet countries, which are exposed to misunderstandings and conflicts about different historical events, church serves a place where common experiences, language and religion help them to forget all the negative and unite, so the ethnic identity is diminishing while religious identity gets stronger. So, for the person coming from Latvia, it's much easier to identify himself with Christianity in general and with orthodoxy in particular, than with Russian generally and Latvian Russian particularly.

Worship community is also serving as a platform for building social bridges with local religious communities. For example, the Church of England on its official website stresses the importance of serving and helping those in need. Answering the question "*What can churches do to help immigrants?*" the church stresses following activities: Pray for peace; work for peace and justice; seek to understand the causes of conflict and persecution in our world; Urge your parish and other local churches to become aware of the world situation and the gospel imperative to respond to those in need; Find out about what arrangements are in place in your area for the reception of asylum seekers and how churches are already involved with others in offering welcome and support; Discuss in the church council how to respond to asylum seekers who seek help from the Church; Join a group teaching English to speakers of other languages; Find out about asylum seeker children in schools and the voluntary help that might be needed; Set-up a collection point for food, clothes or furniture for asylum seekers; Write to newspapers or other media that persist in promoting a negative stereotype of asylum seekers and refugees and others (<https://www.churchofengland.org/our-views/home-and-community-affairs/asylum-and-immigration/asylum-what-can-churches-do.aspx>). All these activities are very crucial for immigrant integration and immigrant church serves as a platform for immigrants to be seen, found, heard and helped. For example, children from Russkaya Cappella (the Orthodox choir) are being invited to perform for parish of the Church of Scotland during religious feasts. Such concerts, after- concert tea sessions and activities makes Russian minority more seen and understandable.

Very important is also relationship building with locals. Social Connections is seen as a fundamental feature for an integrated society. The two-way phrase simply means mutual accommodation between the refugees and the society in which they live in. This can be seen through absence of conflicts and high tolerance levels within the different groups

living together in the society. It can also be seen through connections within family, friends and shared values (Ager & Strang, 2008). So, for example, religious festivals, and particularly Patron Saint Day celebrations, have always been important sites of contact, maintenance, and renewal of relations between migrants and non-migrants. As one example of cooperation between the worship community and local environment, can be mentioned the official opening of Rumanian Air Company's *Blue Air* new route Glasgow-Bucharest at the end of 2015. Then, to the official ceremony at Glasgow airport were invited not only representatives from Rumanian consulate and businessmen, but also the priest from Rumanian orthodox church in Glasgow. This gesture marked high status and importance of immigrant church and its role as Rumanian immigrant single voice.



(<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/topics/migration-to-and-from-uk>)

Religion has conventionally defined and sustained ethnic life in the countries and thus by becoming orthodox may on the surface appear to be antithesis of becoming English (but at the reality, the religious communities help to develop Christian English community and identity) asserting the pride in their Russian orthodox heritage can be seen as a way of claiming a position for themselves at the England's multicultural table (Laderman G., León L., 2014: 133).

4.4.c Social help

According to Charles Hirschman:

" Churches, and other religious organizations, also play an important role in the creation of community and as a major source of social and economic assistance for those in need. In past times, individuals could turn to the extended family (and the larger community) for social comfort as well as for material assistance. With smaller and less proximate families in present times, churches and temples can sometimes fill the void. The idea of community—of shared values and enduring association—are often sufficient to motivate persons to trust and help one another even in the absence of long personal relationships".
(<http://faculty.washington.edu/charles/new%20PUBS/A100.pdf>)

Immigrants are not only already familiar with the churches they come to join, but the church is perhaps one of the most supportive and welcoming institutions for immigrants, particularly for those who arrive to live in difficult circumstances. Institutionally, churches not only provide spiritual comfort for the immigrants, but also respond in a variety of ways to the needs of immigrants, offering the newcomers material and financial support, as well as legal counsel, access to medical care and housing, and even lobbying for less stringent immigration policies.

Religious institutions can be a prime source of social capital for recent immigrants. They are the primary voluntary institutions in the lives of many immigrants, and they may be the primary locus of face-to-face relationships outside the family. Local worship communities can provide both adults and youth with extended social networks that offer psychological support, trust, acceptance (reinforcing such networks), and access to educational and job opportunities as well as other sources of material resources. They may help to connect immigrants to social services, legal assistance, and community organizations of all sorts. They may also help integrate them into larger networks, with whatever access to opportunities and resources these might provide. Religious solidarity and identity can serve to strengthen bonds among participants, and the authority of religious leaders can help draw them into contact with the larger community through volunteer service and other acts of citizenship.

In the case of Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow, it's more not the church organization, but the parish members, who are helping the new arrivals. "In order to change

our situation for the better, we need to carry not only about ourselves, but about people around. We must do something practically, but at the same time, pray’’ (Tolik)

In comparison to the churches in home countries, in immigrant church:

- the pastor is “on-call” at all hours of the day. For example, he might himself pick a family up at the airport, find a place for them to live, help them with moving, finding them jobs, and make best efforts to connect them to the larger Russian community
- The parish is much smaller than those in home countries, so everyone’s situation is well known and it’s possible to solve the problems more effective and fast.
- The church also keeps migrants informed of the latest developments in the generally intractable and confusing immigration laws that govern their lives and is ready to lobby on their behalf. representing the *voice of the voiceless*
- the church is also preventing its members from aggression, violence in their affords to protect their rights as immigrants and show their negative attitude towards certain rules in host country
- The members can gather to talk about traditional Russian dishes, job openings, possibilities for opening new businesses, hobbies, and politics in the UK and home countries. Some groups watch sports events and gather for sport trainings together.

We can look on the effects of these church provided social services from two perspectives. From one side, by organizing too many internal activities, communities may impede their members' cultural assimilation and social incorporation into the wider society. From another side, the superior resources and economic opportunities that community members can receive in the church, may provide important bridges to individuals, groups, and resources outside the national community.

Factors influencing the social capital church provides to its members:

- smaller, family- like community will often mean tighter bounds between its members, which inevitably doesn't mean reacher social capital. Russian congregation can be described as a such community, with a small amount of members and quite tight bounds between them.

- Larger and more diverse communities, despite weaker bounds between its members, provide a richer variety of resources and opportunities.
- The income of the membership is only a proxy for the sorts of material resources that social networks might enable members to utilize. enjoy a wider range of valuable connections outside the community. Those communities with members with higher education and income level provide participants with grater social capital. While large numbers of immigrants today are still poor or struggling to get by on low wage jobs and marginal small businesses, others have highly remunerated technical or professional positions. In the case of Russian orthodox congregation, it consists mostly of middle class and some higher class families. A large part of respondents are self employed- for example, cleaning houses, car workshop services or as a translators. There are several professors and musicians, accountants and factory workers. This might serve as reacher social capital for new arriving middle working class immigrants, who need assistance in integrating into labour market. communities with mainly poor members and few of the college educated are unlikely to have the “bridging” ties that could provide members with access to resources and opportunities beyond the community. Examples include not just direct financial assistance in cases of special need but access to job and business opportunities, education, technical assistance, advice, and useful information of all sorts. Such access depends very much on how widely members interact among themselves, regardless of class, level of education, or immigration status. It depends, in other words, on the extent of “bonding” social capital in the community.

4.4.d Respondent experiences within the local context

During interviews, the researcher had noticed that, the respondents have experienced different kind of help and support from the church, so its role can be divided into practical/physical and moral/spiritual. With the practical help one can understand the assistances in practical questions, helping with resolving the problems which are common for recent immigrants, getting important information. Tanya mentioned that, as upon her arrival to Glasgow, she couldn't speak and understand a word in English, the church was the only

place she could look for the help and advice. ‘‘In the church I asked Russian immigrants to help me with finding and registering for the English courses and other important information I couldn’t get myself because of inability to speak and understand English. Without the help from the parish members, I couldn’t find the information about the language courses, apply for work permit and get other information which is important for every new immigrant’’ (Tanya).

It was mostly economical immigrants and those working low skilled jobs, who have mentioned the function of the church as an institution where new immigrants can look for the help and advice upon arriving. Foma and Tanya have acknowledged that for them the practical help they have received from the parish members, was crucial for their health and sometimes even life during the first stage of immigration. Both have come from Latvia after becoming unemployed there and both couldn’t speak proper English. Foma had chosen Glasgow for immigration, as his former class mate was living there:

‘‘.....the first days I could stay in his flat, while looking for a job. It was much more difficult to find the job as I was expecting and it made me desperate, sending my CVs everywhere and not getting positive answers. Soon my friend told that I should look for another place to stay, as it wasn’t allowed by the flat owner. So, the first time in my life, I experienced the situation when I didn’t have money for the food, no place to sleep and no one to ask for the help. I didn’t even have the money to buy tickets home. Searching in the internet for options, I found the information about the Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow. It gave me hope that someone will help me. I came there and got the help I have never experienced before. With the time, thanks to the parish members, I got the place to stay, job and a lot of friends, whom I can freely ask for the help when needed’’ (Foma).

As the social role of the church, immigrants mentioned providing of such services as baptising, marriage and prayers for the dead in Glasgow, so one doesn’t need to go to London or home country, and traditions can be kept without going far away. Anna who is coming from Latvia got married with the orthodox men from Romania in Glasgow. For Romanians orthodox traditions are very important and if there wasn’t orthodox in Glasgow, it would be very problematic for organize the wedding, as both would have to take free from work for a long period and spend more money for going to Romania for organizing wedding there.

Comparing orthodox church with other churches and religious groups, one of the differences is that it doesn't bound people, you are not becoming a member of the church in a way that you have to pay monthly/ weekly contributions to the parish or have to visit the church services/activities regularly, it's completely up to the person if he/she wants to come and participate, so the person doesn't feel obliged to something, but the sermons about the everyone's mission to help those in need, don't leave people indifferent. This church invitation for helping everyone in need and ideas about equality and brotherhood, is unique, as it gives the immigrants feeling of belonging to the bigger church community, both with other orthodox parishes and with different Christian congregations. Anna admitted that almost all friends she has she met in the church and they represent different nationalities, mostly these are Russians, Ukrainians, Romanians and Greeks. *''Belonging to the church, for one who is not a citizen of this country, helps to feel oneself as a part of the Christian society, which is based on Christian values and traditions (Anna).*

As one more example of practical help Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow is giving, some respondents mentioned the education the church school is providing to Russian children. Parents usually don't have enough time, knowledge or power to learn children Russian, culture, history language and traditions. Tolik stated that despite being happy for their children ability to integrate into local society, he still wanted them to be able to speak Russian language, for example, to be able to communicate with their grandparents, to know the history of the country their parents and grandparents are coming from. *"Despite having English as their mother tongue, my children speak fluently Russian, they have many friends from Russian Sunday school, they also know main Russian feasts, for example the Victory day in 9th of May, when Russian school organizes celebration (Tolik).* The ability to speak Russian fluently helps immigrant children not only to communicate better with their parents and relatives in home country, but also give them big advantage in job market.

Also was mentioned the idea of the church as an institution which can help children to "make sense of the world around them." Looking on the today's world around us, one of the major problems in the society is spiritual decadence, which leads to such problems as drug use and other social disabilities. Many immigrant parent feel not able to protect their children alone, so this function is being given to the church

As we already mentioned earlier, the gender and age are very important factors influencing the process of integration. One can also add such factors as family status,

education, the length of stay and previous work experience. From our 12 respondents the half have migrated alone. From 6 who came alone, 5 are under 30 years old and are not married, while the 6th had left the family in her home country. These differences have significant effect on the perception of the church's role and functions. So, for those 5 respondents coming with children, the role of the church was mostly seen from its influence on children upbringing and preserving of Russian language and orthodox values. At the same time, who came alone stressed that it is very important for them to communicate with peers from the same culture. Tolik even stressed he can only see his future wife as Russian and orthodox. For Foma who came alone and was low educated (very poor English skills, no professional or higher education), connections from the church, provided him friends, job and place to stay. Although, as we mentioned earlier, despite the positive effect of connections with fellow immigrants made within the church on immigrant economic integration (they can surely help you finding job, both with advice and in reality) and mental health, we can't state that it facilitates immigrant integration process fully. With full integration here we understand “... *an individual psychological perspective, starting at the time of arrival in the host country and concluding when a refugee becomes an active member of that society from a legal, social, economic, education and cultural dimension*” (Anyim Olausen I., 2013:15). Therefore, answering to our chapter question, we can state that *Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow facilitates Russian speaking immigrant integration, by providing them a space for social network building.*

CHAPTER 4

4.1 Conclusions

The object of this dissertation was to look at the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in Glasgow on Russian immigrant lives. The paper was based on an analysis of information received during interviews with congregation members. The analysis has shown that the church plays much wider than just spiritual role in the life of Russian immigrants.

Literature review has shown that religious institutions serve as focal points in immigrant lives generally and in Russian immigrant lives particularly, regardless of the

particular configurations of the communities to which they arrive. Both for those who was attending the church before emigration and for those who didn't, the church and religious activities often have become more central after immigration as they experienced much dislocation and instability in their lives and were seeking consolation and support in the church. This observation stresses the importance of the church and its activities on the immigrant life.

Importantly, religious institutions provide the immigrants the resources and tools that the immigrants themselves deem necessary, from legal counsel to English language lessons, from institutional links to their communities of origin to organizational strategies to deal with problems in their neighbourhoods, from financial support to pay for a month's rent to a kind word in a desperate moment. All of this, in the eyes of the newcomers, is vital for their efforts to fulfil their projects and to cope with unknown environment, whether or not the immigrants' projects are geared to assimilation.

Interviews revealed that those of older generation and those who arrived to Glasgow more recent, are more connected to the congregation, both expecting more from it and giving more to it. Young immigrants seem to be able to manage most problems of immigration.

Whilst each respondent's experience and situation is unique, during the interviews, it became clear that their ideas about the role of the immigrant church are quite similar. All respondents stated that the church plays very important role, that's this is the peace of the motherland, "an island" they can get moral and practical help.

Personal observations and other social interactions have shown that people were not willing to speak about the religious role of the church, as the question of faith and religious rituals is a private domain. This can partly be explained with the situation of the Soviet times, when people had to hide their religiosity and it wasn't usual to discuss such topics as faith with other people.

Migration has had a strong impact on the role of the church in respondent lives. In some situations, the person was excluded from the labour market and lost his high social status. This created the feeling of being not needed, not useful, excluded from the society and made relationship within the family more complex. Different researches show certain ethnic groups not being able or not willing to integrate into local society. For example, Shaw, who

made research on Pakistani families in Britain, remarked that Pakistanis "have not adopted wholesale western lifestyles and values". They keep their own traditions more eagerly and teach them to their children. In this case, one can speak about "accommodation without assimilation". Shaw A. (2000:3).

Similar description can be applied to Russian families and lonely immigrants in Glasgow. Although local circumstances had impact on their relationships within the family or methods of upbringing their children, they have not yet resulted in the adaptation of the local lifestyle and ways of acting and thinking. In this case, the church is a main institution, main centre which allows them to keep their old lifestyle and way of thinking.

Many respondents admitted that 'Culturally different' local society and problems connected with inability to speak English, made them search for moral support and help within the congregation. The church became a piece of the 'Motherland' where they keep and teach their children Russian and cultural practices, find moral and practical support. The families emphasized that they want their children to feel different from the local people because they remain Russian and live according to Russian traditions and attitudes. *Russianness* was a feature that the parents were keen to emphasize- Russian books are read to their children, Soviet and Russian films (cartoons) frequently viewed, together with the teaching of Soviet and Russian songs and poems. Amongst the more important elements of *Russianness* mentioned were: kindness, hospitality, spirituality, mutual help and high moral values. The notion of 'being different', as Kelly (Kelly 2007: 598) notes, was strongly propagated through Soviet times and especially during the Cold War when the opposing notions of 'here' and 'there' were often found in both literature and art. On the other hand, Russian families want their children to be fully integrated into the local society, to know English perfectly, have local friends, but, not to accept local ways of thinking and acting, to keep their individuality, and not be afraid to be different. It is difficult to predict whether or not children of these Russian families will keep the assumptions and practices of their parents and Russian culture and traditions, but it's obvious that these children feel happy within the 'small but strong' society where they are a part of. As the Russian children observe local families, where domestic violence, arguments and divorces are commonplace, they may come to the conclusion that the key to a happy family life is through the 'Russian way' of perceiving and doing things, and, who knows, maybe their future partner will be from the Russian community and which for them is a second home where they feel loved and needed.

Immigrant churches and local worship communities of all sorts assist immigrants in a variety of ways, some of them directly contributing to their incorporation into the new society: they provide psychological and cultural “refuge” for newcomers that entails new, and sometimes enduring, social networks and social capital; as institutions in UK's civil society, they participate directly in community affairs to one degree or another and give their members opportunities to do so as well; they provide social services and contacts for immigrant members, in some cases promoting their incorporation into the UK political system and they help shape immigrants' images of themselves, not only morally and spiritually but as members of our society and polity.

Finally, religious tradition helps shape organizational culture, but it also plays a role in forming religious leaders' and members' notions of obligation toward the larger community; gives leaders terms with which to frame responses to issues of the day; and provides alternative interpretations on which activist clergy may draw in shaping the profile of a particular community. And as I mentioned above, immigrant churches *as communities in many cases created by and for immigrants*, reflect particularly well the multiple ways that recent immigrants and their children struggle with adaptation to Scottish society.

4.2 Main functions of Russian orthodox parish of St. Kentigern in Glasgow:

- it gives the opportunity for orthodox from different countries to meet, communicate and build the dialogue. Common place for gathering for migrants from Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Georgia is very important for bringing Slavic nations closer. Immigrant church is an institution for building such dialogue and helps to establish the contact with other minority groups
- The establishment of an immigrant diaspora tends to facilitate future migration, as costs and risks are lowered by the established family and network. The establishment of family and community overseas provides a network that affords newcomers knowledge, contacts, resources, and social support, thus easing economic and personal costs to migration
- There is little data on the characteristics, activities, attitudes and intentions of migrants. At the same time, stereotypes often create a negative image of immigrant

groups. Misinformation of this type has the potential to influence public feeling towards migrants, undermine cohesion and may lead to hostility and abuse. For example, some employers prefer to employ local workers because recruiting migrants is seen as a 'failure' (<http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2009/02/23154109/5>), viewed negatively locally or seen as bad for the organization's image. In this case, church serves as a representative of minority in the local society.

- Orthodox Church, as the one of Christian churches, makes Russian community closer to local Christian society, they feel, for example, closer to Church of Scotland, in their way of protecting Christian values, in times when the number of Muslims in Europe is increasing. In Christian articles one can often read about the "Muslimization" of Europe, see concerns about the diminishing of Christian values and developing of Muslim religion and traditions (<http://www.gov.scot/>). Immigrants from many post-soviet countries, don't have experiences in communicating with Muslims and representatives of other religions. Also common Christian concerns and fight against secularization and its caused values (abortions, drug addiction). Common ideals, goals and view on right and god life, make Christian groups closer, serving as one of the push factors for Russian integration into Christian Glaswegian society.
- It helps immigrant families to avoid isolation. Although authorities are doing everything to help with the integration process, Russians prefer to seek an escape from the unfamiliar local culture, language and society within the ethnic community. In the course of time these people made local friends colleagues, but still they perceive their families as almost the only stable place where they can find help, understanding and support at any moment. Families from the Russian parish have admitted that despite having Scottish friends, as a whole family they are communicating only with Russian families. 'There is no problem for me to communicate with Scottish people, but I enjoy more communicating with my compatriots, as we have common feasts and memories.
- Provides social integration, social status. Every person wants to feel important and needed and sometimes losing job and their social status, people can come into depression. Immigrant experience shows that arriving to the country, people are going down in the social hierarchy. There are not many of those who get the same position they had occupied in their home countries. For example, Tolik came to Glasgow from

Ukraine 10 years ago didn't have work permit, so the whole family were living on subsidies from the state, while in Ukraine, where he got higher education, he was working as a sport teacher. Participating in church life is satisfying the immigrant need for *social status*, which they are losing after moving away from home country. Being a part of community, of the parish the person can get prestige, power and recognition which he is often not having, doing "low skilled immigrant" jobs. Here one can be simultaneously the singer in the choir, the servant in the altar, the donor for the new church and the construction worker building this church. This is especially important for men, who are used to have more respect and hold high positions. Holding responsible positions in the church hierarchy, helps them to feel needed and appreciated, which help them to preserve their mental health (Stephen Warner R, Wittner J.,1998). The conflict in Russian parish is a good example to this.

- Just as religion furnishes elements with which to create alternative cartographies, so it guides believers about their rights and responsibilities in the communities where they belong it provides members with moral compasses and orient them to act upon these values in particular settings). Church Members enact multiple roles and participate in multiple settings meaning that they continue to influence the secular world and it continues to influence them.
- Families can bring their newborns to the church to formally transform those born in the UK into citizens of imagined Russian nation. Doing that, they extend the boundaries of Russia, giving the chance for those living outside Russia, to be part of it and live in its imagined boundaries.

4.3 Methodological weakness

We should have noticed that the idea that the church, as a space for immigrant gathering, is more effective and resourceful than other social groups and activities, like sport activities, choirs and similar. This was based on the research literature, although no comparison was made by the author during the research. This was partly because of the breadth and complexity of the topic, as well as challenge of merging into another groups in order to get relevant information. For example, English language courses organized by the language centre. It is a place where immigrants from all over the world regularly meet, closely communicate and often build strong ties. Although, in order to be able to research

such groups and understand how connections got from there are influencing integration process. It would be also useful for the research field to compare orthodox denominations in Glasgow. For, example, one can believe that for Greek minority in Glasgow, the Greek orthodox church is playing even more important role than Russian church in Glasgow. The fact that during the research period, no Greeks were seen attending the services and after service activities in the Russian church, shows that despite common religion and religious minority status, orthodox denominations in Glasgow are strictly influenced by national affiliation.

One more problem was the sensitivity of the issue. Although, there were no respondents who would refuse to answer certain questions, one could feel that not everyone, especially men, were ready to disclose their spiritual and emotional feelings.

4.4 Unconsidered factors

One of the important concentration in this study was background features and we found social status, family status, duration of stay, place of origin, language ability, age, and gender to be more relevant than the rest that may also exist. By this time we know that the study didn't consider any other external factors especially contextual features like attitudes towards immigrants, structural settings, government efforts, employment rates/ policy, immigrant population in the area study, etc. which are equally considered to be either a hindrance to or a promoter of immigrant integration in host society (Martinovic et al., 2009). With the immigrant population in the area study we understand the concentration of the large immigrant number in one area, which closes for them the opportunity to build the contacts with the local community and can lead to discrimination, unemployment due to the lack of information and useful networks. For example, the Govan area in Glasgow is known for the high concentration of migrants from former British colonies and Eastern Europe and in mass media it's been described as one of the regions with highest criminality rates. It's in a way not only creating the negative minority image in the eyes of local inhabitants, but also is strongly influencing the process of children upbringing, integration, the choice of free time activities and other factors of immigrant lives. Maybe the research of respondent's residential patterns would partly explain why for certain immigrant groups preserving their ethnic identity is very important issue, while others feel comfortable with communicating and building strong ties

with minorities with other ethnic background.

It could be also useful for this field of study to explore what the host country is offering new arrivals, apart from social benefits and language courses. Are there any free of charge activities, which could help immigrants to integrate and build social networks, and how aware are immigrants about such offers.

However, researching the question of immigration and the role of the church in it, one should take into consideration several factors. For example, the frequency of church attendance. However powerful the hold of religion on people's consciousness, the impact of a local worship community on their lives will be minor if immersion in the community occupies no more than an hour or two on a Sunday morning. At this level of involvement, other institutions— family, workplace, school, even the sports club—may have far greater impact. Nevertheless, even at this level of involvement, religious institutions can promote attitudes and behaviours and provide opportunities that help shape the immigrant experience.

For more profound research, more circumstances of the immigrant communities could be taken into consideration: Here I researched all generations together, not dividing the immigrants into such groups as: first, 1.5, second generation. However, there are various researches showing that there is a huge difference in immigrant experiences from different generations. Also other categories can explain certain behaviour: some immigrants confined to low wage, jobs in the service sector; others have been brought to a new place by the promise of professional employment and rapid upward mobility; some face considerable prejudice and the prospect of assimilation into an “Americanized” in UK society; others are treated as members of “model minorities”.

4.5 Can we generalize these results on the rest of minority population?

First of all, the study was focusing on one Christian orthodox denomination. As we can presume, for other minorities, for example Muslims, religion plays quite different role in their daily life. Not only religion is usually more noticeable in daily lives of Muslim minorities, but also close family ties and strong national/ religious identity, make it difficult to compare their religious spaces with those of Christians. One more issue is that most of the immigrants coming from non-Christian countries, were active church/temple/mosque goers in their home countries before the emigration took place. This makes us assume that, while for

Christian immigrants generally and for Russian immigrants in particular, the church is often the space for preserving ethnic identity and building social networks, then for, for example, Muslim immigrants, the spiritual role of the religious space is often the strongest.

4.6 Final proposition

While we know a lot about new immigrants, like where they come from, patterns of settlement, costs and benefit of immigrant labour and assimilation, we know relatively little about their religious patterns. The neglect of scholars and local authorities of religion is evident, yet field researchers who observe immigrant communities and conduct interviews with their members, report that regardless of group, religion is often at the centre of immigrant sense of identity, affiliation, comfort zone, and that religious institutions serve as focal points for ethnic gatherings, celebrations and re- creations of ethnic language and customs, as well as for obtaining assistance with practical issues of finding jobs, housing, schooling and immigration papers. Religious space is a unique set of relationship created by immigrants who are preserving their contacts and affiliation to religious communities in their home countries and creating, participating in religious communities in the new country of residence. This local level religions globalization shows the importance of religious organizations both in home and host countries in creating the cooperation space between migrants and non-migrants

Therefore, in order to succeed the best results in the process of immigrant integration, while making it possible for them to preserve their culture, language and ties with home countries, local political authorities, authorities in immigrant home countries, social and educational institutions and other organizations should pay more attention and make more efforts to the research, understanding and sustenance of immigrant religious patterns, behaviour, organizations, churches. Education system plays a key role in the creation of social trust and community spirit. The pace of immigration shows no sign of slowing down. More and better teaching of religious behaviour, religious traditions, culture and non-mainstream languages will enable local people to become more culturally aware, cohesive and tolerant, and will make the integration process more successful.

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APPENDIX

Interview Procedure

Prior to interview conducting, the permission form the from Norsk Samfunsvitenskapelig Datatjeneste had been obtained. Future respondents had been introduced to the topic and the aim of the research and got insured that their names will be changed for confidentiality. Interviews were conducted in respondent's homes, as due to the sensitivity of the topic, it wasn't comfortable to speak during after service tee sessions or café. The researcher and respondents were they were acquainted to each other which made interviews to go more smoothly and respondents to be more open and free. Common language (Russian) and ethnic background, also made it more easy to communicate and understand each other better.

Most questions were open- ended and interviews were not time framed, so the respondents could freely and without haste express their opinions and experiences. During the interviewing process researcher sometimes found it useful to ask additional questions or vary the questions in order to obtain more accurate, relevant information.

Special attention was also paid to non-verbal communication patterns as well as verbal techniques employed by the interviewee.

Interview questions:

1. What is your gender and your age?
2. What is your occupation?
3. Have you moved to the UK alone or with the family?
4. How long have you been living in Glasgow?
5. Would you move/ stay in Glasgow, if there wasn't Russian church?
6. What was your religious experience in home country? Were you baptised? Did you attend church services?

7. What is your religious activity in Glasgow? Are you attending church services regularly? Are you attending other activities directed by the church?
8. Are you attending the whole services or coming at the end of the service to communicate during the tea sessions?
9. When there is no services in Russian orthodox church, do you attend the weekly services in other orthodox churches in Glasgow (Romanian, Georgian or Greek denominations)
10. How would you describe you social network with other parish members?
11. Do you feel integrated? Which factors, do you think, have facilitated/ complicated the integration process?
12. What doesn't the Russian church in Glasgow means to you? How would you describe it's main functions, it's main mission?

Table1

	SEX/AGE/WHERE FROM	OCCUPAT ION	FAMILY	LIVING IN GLASGO W	IN HOME COUNTRY
ANTON	Male , 30, Estonia	Warehouse worker	Came alone, mother in Estonia; not married	5 years	Baptised, but not going to the church

ANNA	Female , 30 Latvia	Office worker	Came alone; parents in Latvia; not married	4,5 years	Going to the church regularly
GEORG	Male; 25; Russia	Construction worker (illegal)	Came alone; not married	6 years	Baptised, not going to the church
FOMA	Male ; 25; Latvia	Construction, factory (part time)	Came alone; not married	1 year	Baptised, not going to the church
MARIS	Male ; 40; Russia	Glasgow University professor	Married; wife and 2 children came along	4 years	Going to the church regularly
TANYA	Female ; 48; Latvia	Factory worker	Came alone, leaving husband and 2 children in Latvia	5 month	Going to the church regularly
DANI	Female; 39; Romania	Student	Came with husband	1,5 year	Going to the church regularly
SERZ	Male ; 50; Russia	Unemployed (lives on social benefits)	Came with wife and 2 children	10 years	Not baptised, not going to the church
DARYA	Female ; 28; Russia	Student	Came alone; not married	2 years	Sometimes going to the church

ZORA	Male; 50; Russia	Musician	Came with the wife and a child	7 years	Sometimes going to the church
TOLIK	Male ; 50; Ukraine	Scottish railway	Came with wife and two children	10 years	Sometimes going to the church
IRA	Female; 55; Russia	Housewife	Came with husband and a child	7 years	Not baptised, not going to the church

Table2

	religious activity in Glasgow	when coming	leaving	connections within the parish
AN TO N	always when have free from work and there is service; going to the service in other cities, when there is someone who can drive him and there is no service in Glasgow	beginning of the service	stays after the service to drink the tee and speak with friends	most friends are from the church

AN NA	always goes to the all services when have free from work; sometimes asks free at work to go to the service, big feast celebration; goes to other cities when there is no service in Glasgow	comes before the service, helps with the church preparation	always stays after the service	most friends are from the church; as no activities except the work, only church
GE OR G	goes to the church every Saturday and Sunday	comes before the service; helping in the quire; helping to clean the church;	stays after the service	a lot of friends from the church, two of them are work providers

FO MA	<p>goes on Sunday and not compulsory, only when has mood</p> <p>not going to other orthodox church in Glasgow or other Russian orthodox parish in other cities when there is no service in Glasgow; churches if there is no service in Russian church</p>	<p>to the beginning or later; sometimes doesn't come</p>	<p>always stays after the service for a coup of tee and conversation</p>	<p>during the week communicating with the church members outside the church, more often going for a meal to their flats ; friends from the church helping with the food and give money when needed</p>
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MA RIS	goes to the service once a week with the family	if there is no service in Glasgow is either going to another city to the service in Russian orthodox church or is going to the Greek church	not often is staying after the service	
TA NY A	goes to the service as often as it is possible; not going to other services when there is no service in Russian church	always comes before and leaves after the service; using this time for speaking with parish members	Stays til the end and helping in the church	only friends from the church. working in the factory where all are polish, so the only place for finding friends is the church

DA NI	Always goes when has time	Stays the whole service and helps after the service	After the services stays longer to have conversatio ns with the priest and parish members	Most friends are parish members
SER Z	goes to the church not regularly, when the health allows; not going to other orthodox churches when no service in Russian	coming at the end or the middle of the service	always staying after the service for the cup of tee; sometime s coming only for a cup of tee	all friends are from the church, as is unemploy ed for many years and cant speak the language; church members are visiting him home when he is ill

DA RY A	goes to the church every Sunday; going to other orthodox churches in Glasgow when there is no service in Russian church	coming before the service	always staying after the service for a tee time	have a lot of connectio ns from the parish; inviting some people for meals during the week
ZO RA	going to all services; driving to other cities when there is no service in Russian church	coming before the service helping priest in the altar	always stays after the service	all friends are from the church
TO LIK	going on Sunday service; going to other orthodox church when no service in Russian	coming at the beginning or in the middle	often stays after the service	most friends are from the church

IRA	coming on Sundays; on big fists	at the beginning;	always stays after the service	all friends are from the church, as has never worked in Glasgow and doesn't speak English
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As we can see from the table, there are not many respondents who are attending the service at least twice a week, as the church rule is demanding. The fact that parish members are rather ready to drive a long way to other cities (Edinburgh; Aberdeen) for the Russian service instead of attending the orthodox service in Romanian or Greek orthodox church in Glasgow, shows that they pay a big attention to the national factor

Table 3

Religion in Scotland (2011)

<i>Non- religious, Not stated</i>	(7.0%), (36.7%)	2,309,155
<i>Church of Scotland</i>	(32.4%)	1,717,871
<i>Catholic Church</i>	(15.9%)	841,053
<i>Other Christian</i>	(5.5%)	2,850,199
<i>Islam</i>	(1.4%)	76,737
<i>Other religions</i>	(1.2%)	15,196

Figure 1. A conceptual framework defining Core Domains of Integration.



(Ager and Strang , 2008)